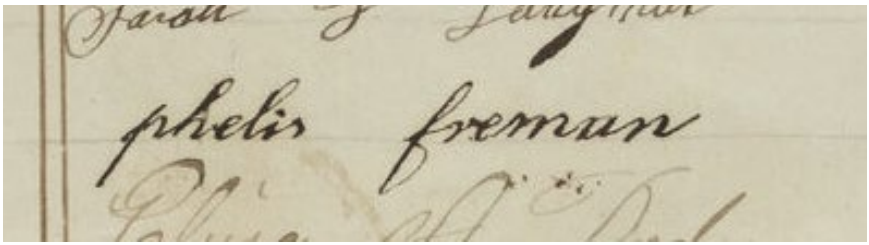
For Phillips Library: Town Records of Salem, microfilm & box 6 folder 2

For Wenham Museum: photograph references



Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman's signature on a petition calling for the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people, 1839

Enslaved People & Wenham

Second Edition

DRAFT; remove markups

By

Robert O. Corcoran

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Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century attic room
in the Thomas Kilham House

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Kenney et al., MS (1839)

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PREFACE

SLAVERY happened here. In Wenham. This fact may come as a surprise. After all, many people think that slavery was a Southern institution and not also a Northern one. It's a subject that histories of Wenham have avoided. A history of the town that was published in 1860—written on the eve of the Civil War—devotes less than 1% of its text to the subject. Indeed, that work avoids the word "slavery" entirely, using the word "servant" in its place. The 1888 history of the town provides even less coverage, while a 1943 history spends just 2% of its text on the topic.[1]

I had been aware that enslavement once existed in New England: I have an ancestor[2] who lived during the colonial period who was an enslaver. But even with that knowledge, the idea of enslavement in New England has seemed remote, intangible. When researching the history of my house on Maple Street, though, I discovered that an enslaved man (Pompey) lived here in the 1730s. That discovery made me want to find out how many other enslaved people had lived in Wenham and *where* they lived … which led to the researching and writing of this book.

It is time to celebrate the members of Wenham's enslaved community. There is a growing body of scholarship on the topic of enslavement in Essex County, a body of work that is focusing new energy on telling the stories that have previously gone untold. It is my hope that this book helps to advance that scholarship. (And, because Wenham's history with enslavement has been so under-researched, there's *a lot* of ink in the endnotes and appendices that documents how we know what we know about this group.)

It is time to remember the names of members of the community. Names provide identity; the absence of names strips people of their identity. Beginning in 2024, leveraging the first edition of this work, Wenham's Congregational Church has held an annual Service of Remembrance during Black History Month. The service includes a ceremony in which the congregation says

aloud the name of each individual enslaved person who lived in Wenham, recognizing each as a child of God.

I've tried to focus this text more on enslaved people and less on enslavers, and have made some editorial decisions accordingly:

- **Vocabulary.** The way we talk about enslavement has changed and continues to evolve. "Enslaved person" has replaced "slave." "Enslaver" has replaced "slave owner" and "slave master." The first few sentences of this text notwithstanding, "enslavement" has replaced "slavery." This shift in vocabulary is an attempt to put distance between a person's circumstances and a person's identity. Sampson Brown, for instance, wasn't "just" an enslaved person; he was a brave man who fought in the Revolutionary War alongside George Washington, who probably had a wife and children.
- **Pejorative Words.** The words "negro" and "mulatto" appear in various images throughout this text, images that show original records of enslaved people's church admissions, baptisms, marriages and deaths. These images are included, despite the derogatory way in which these particular words were often used at the time, because these records are the only tangible things left that allow us to remember these former residents of our town. "Negro" and a particularly offensive word appear in Appendix J in the context of former colloquial names for Perkins Street, and in the context of the name of an island in South Hamilton. The particularly-offensive word appears in redacted form. Surviving evidence of the use of these street and place names dates from after the eighteenth century—after enslavement had ended in Wenham—and their inclusion arguable falls outside the scope of this book. But excluding this material from this text would have otherwise contributed to a whitewashing of our history.
- **Probate Valuations.** An important source for identifying enslaved people is eighteenth century probate files. Enslaved people were considered property, and probate files of enslavers typically included an inventory of the property of the deceased that assigned a monetary value to each enslaved person. As an expression of respect, though, monetary valuations of individuals are omitted from the respective discussions of those individuals. This data has been moved to Appendix B, available for scholars but otherwise out of sight for most readers.

- **Identification.** In almost all cases Wenham's enslaved population didn't use surnames. But some first names (e.g., Pompey) were used for more than one person. Therefore, when context warrants, an enslaved person's name is followed by a parenthetical identification of his or her enslaver, e.g., Pompey (Josiah Fairfield household) vs. Pompey (Jonathan Porter household).
- **Organization.** Although a truly enslaved-centric approach would organize content by individual enslaved people, doing so would be unwieldy and would result in repetitive material about enslavers and their residences. That's because some houses were the homes of multiple enslavers and the workplace-residences of multiple enslaved people. Content, therefore, is organized by the site where enslaved people lived, worked or worshipped.

This second edition of *Enslaved People & Wenham* provides recently discovered material about members of Wenham's enslaved population:

- References made in 1768 to Primus Boorgillar and Peggy Otum in the Wenham town clerk's records
- The addition of Revolutionary War veteran Fortune Ellery; additional references documenting the Revolutionary War service records of Sampson Brown, Scipio Lee Dodge and Scipio Lummus; and a 1779 signature by soldier Sampson Brown
- State-funded town-administered financial support of Pompey Porter in the 1820s and early 1830s; and financial support of Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman between 1841 and her death (the funding of which is unclear)
- An 1851 deposition by Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman
- An 1868 poem ("The Two Taverns") that refers to Pompey Porter, and
- Oral history identifying sites that might be the burial places of enslaved people.

This edition also provides new content about some of Wenham's enslavers:

- New insight into the locations of the Thomas Brown Jr. House, the Thomas Dodge House and the Joseph Hacker House
- Additional information on the title histories of certain enslavers' houses, and
- Additional genealogical and biographical references for certain enslavers.

Finally, this edition provides material on Wenham's abolitionists and Wenham's possible role in the Underground Railroad.

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I am tremendously grateful to the scholars, institutions and property owners who have helped shape this work. James Tanzer, Special Collections Research Services Librarian at the George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College, has done exciting research with a group of eighteenth century account books that were maintained by some of Wenham's enslavers. He has been generous with his insights on a wide range of aspects of Wenham's enslaved people and enslavers. Edward L. Bell, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer and Senior Archaeologist at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, shared his work on state-funded financial assistance to formerly enslaved residents of Massachusetts and has helped to document Wenham's sites where enslaved people are thought to be buried. Scholars Beth Bower, Lise Breen, Jack Hauck and Jeanne Pickering have likewise contributed their research and ideas on how to tell Wenham's story of enslavement. A special thank-you goes to First Church in Wenham and the Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, for sharing images from the Wenham Congregational Church's manuscript records; and to the Wenham Museum, the Topsfield Historical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society for sharing images of materials in their respective collections. Property owners Tom and Lauren Jones, Dano and Jennifer Jukanovich, and Scott and Lauren Schonberger were especially gracious in allowing me access to their homes as I conducted my field research. Deirdre Pierotti Dean, who suggested to me to expand on my prior research on this topic, has been an ongoing champion. Publication of the first edition of this book was supported in part by a grant from the Hamilton-Wenham Cultural Council, a local agency that is supported by the Massachusetts Cultural Council, a state agency. Thank you!

R.O.C.

1 M. O. Allen (1860), 84, 90, 199-200. Perley (1888), 2:1232. Cole (1943), 74, 90-91.

2 Peter Tallman (ca.1623–1708), a man born in Germany who emigrated to Barbados in 1647 and to Newport, Rhode Island in 1649. An enslaved man named Mingo ran away from him in 1650. Moriarty (1931), 72-74.

INTRODUCTION

WENHAM'S history with enslavement began even before there was a Wenham. In 1637 the English colonists went to war against the Pequot people of Connecticut, and a company of soldiers from Salem fought in that war. The English captured some Pequot men, women and children. The men were put on a ship bound for Bermuda to work the English plantations there, but the women and children were distributed to English colonists in Connecticut and Massachusetts as enslaved labor. Rev. Hugh Peter (bp. 1598–1660), a minister living in Salem, wrote a letter to Gov. John Winthrop (1588–1649) and requested one or two of the prisoners for himself. He got one. She was assigned the name "Hope" and was brought back to Salem to work in Rev. Peter's house. Meanwhile, the ship that was bound for Bermuda bypassed that destination and went instead to the West Indies. The ship's captain William Peirce (ca.1591–1641) probably sold the Pequot prisoners there (where the Spanish were already engaged in the trade of enslaved people) and bought some people who had been born in Africa or were of African descent. The next year (1638) Peirce brought them back to Salem where he sold them.

At the time, Wenham was still part of the town of Salem, and a small group of families had been granted land here to encourage settlement. Rev. Peter preached a sermon to them, probably in 1638, the first sermon delivered in what would become Wenham. A monument commemorates the spot where he gave that sermon. The enslaved Pequot woman named Hope was part of Rev. Peter's household in Salem at the time.

The earliest record of enslavement in the town of Wenham is from 1703, when we find mention of an anonymous enslaved boy and an enslaved man named Mingo.[3] "Mingo" may have been a short form of "Domingo," which if so probably hints at a Caribbean origin for him. We don't know how long either the anonymous enslaved boy or Mingo was living in Wenham prior to

1703. (Throughout this text we will run into the limitations of *surviving* records about enslavement.) Competition in the trade of enslaved Africans escalated at the end of the seventeenth century when the Royal African Company lost its monopoly on English trade with Africa. The appearance of the anonymous boy and Mingo in Wenham about that time probably reflects the increased availability of enslaved labor brought about by this increase in competition.

In 1765 one in seventeen of Wenham's residents was enslaved.

Magnitude

Based on the records that survive (church records, town clerk's records, probate files, deeds, enslavers' account books) the practice of enslavement grew in Wenham during the first decades of the eighteenth century, peaked during mid-century, and declined in the wake of the Revolutionary War. The Massachusetts Bay Colony conducted a census in 1765 in which Wenham reported 531 people of European descent, 28 of African descent and 5 "Indians" (a term that was used to refer to people who were indigenous to New England as well as people who were indigenous to the Caribbean). There is no indication in the census or in other surviving records that any of Wenham's residents at that time were free people of color, and therefore we can conclude that all 33 people of African or Indigenous descent were enslaved—6% of the population, or one in seventeen residents.[4]

Between 109 and 122 enslaved people have been documented who lived in Wenham; a list of their names appears in Appendix A. There is a range for this volume because of potential double-counting. Enslaved people in Wenham (and elsewhere) rarely used surnames; sometimes it is clear when two men with the same first name were two different men, and sometimes it isn't. But we know that this range undercounts the actual population. A significant number of enslaved people have *not* been documented because little documentation of them existed in the first place or because documentation has disappeared over the last two and a half centuries. For example, although 33 enslaved people were counted in the Wenham census of 1765, only thirteen of them can be identified. The other twenty fall outside the 109-122 range.

People of Color as a Percentage of Total Population, 1765.[5]

Middleton	6%	Newburyport	2%
Wenham	**6%**	Lynn	2%
Salem	4%	Marblehead	2%
Beverly	4%	Rowley	1%
Danvers	3%	Newbury	1%
Andover	3%	Bradford	1%
Manchester	3%	Haverhill	1%
Gloucester	3%	Boxford	1%
Ipswich	3%	Amesbury	1%
Essex County	**2.5%**	Salisbury	1%
Topsfield	2%	Methuen	< 1%

About the Enslavers

Wenham's enslavers tended to be wealthy men with large portfolios of real estate. There were a few exceptions, however: Rev. John Warren, minister of the Wenham Congregational Church, was a socially prominent man but not a wealthy one. Caleb Coy was not at all wealthy but acquired an enslaved worker, perhaps because Coy had just one adult son to help work his farm and couldn't easily afford hired labor. Mary (Porter) Cue and Sarah (White) Fairfield were widows who inherited enslaved workers from their respective husbands and didn't have adult sons to work their farms. In the majority of cases for which we have data, though, Wenham's enslavers were so wealthy that an individual enslaved person represented 1% or less of a given enslaver's assets.[6] Wenham's enslavers typically had just one or two or three enslaved members of their household at a time—not the dozens of enslaved workers so often associated with Southern plantations. The reason for this was very pragmatic. Wenham didn't have the climate for four-season crop growing, and Wenham enslavers weren't involved in the fishing industry. When there wasn't work to be done during all four seasons of the year, it was prohibitively expensive to maintain a large enslaved workforce.

Wenham didn't have Southern-style plantations because Wenham farmers (unlike farmers in other parts of the country) couldn't grow crops during all four seasons of the year.

Aspects of Enslaved Life

Although the data is incomplete, enough has survived that tells us quite a lot about Wenham's enslaved population and what their lives were like. Many aspects of enslaved life in Wenham might seem pretty obvious, since they are familiar elements of the picture of enslavement in the South that we've acquired via films and novels. But that's exactly the point: These aspects of enslaved life happened *here* too.

- **The majority were of African descent or were born in Africa.** Scipio Lummus was born in Africa, kidnapped, and sold into enslavement in Salem (where sales of enslaved people continued throughout the eighteenth century). A different man named Scipio was born about the year 1741 and died in 1811, the record of his burial calling him "an African." Others, especially those who were living in Wenham at the start of the eighteenth century, were likely born in Africa.[7] Some enslaved people of African descent were born into enslavement in Wenham,[8] while others were born into enslavement elsewhere on this side of the Atlantic. A few members of the community had one parent of African descent and another parent of European descent.[9] Of the 109 to 122 individuals who have been documented, only two were of Indigenous descent.[10]

  Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman, who was enslaved by Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) and continued to live with Dodge after she had been freed, once said she had been "well and intimately acquainted with every member" of Dodge's family.

- **It was common practice for an enslaved person to be transferred between households.** Enslaved people were treated as property and were routinely transferred from one enslaver to another. Usually the transfer was a buy-sell arrangement,[11] but in one case a five year-old enslaved girl was transferred by one enslaver to the enslaver's in-laws as a wedding present.[12] In another case two enslaved men were traded for each other by their enslavers.[13]
- **Some were a source of revenue.** Sometimes enslavers hired out their enslaved labor to generate revenue or to repay debts. Those people who did the hiring included other enslavers as well as non-enslaver neighbors.[14]
- **Some enslaved people married and had children.** A handful of marriages between enslaved people was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[15] In addition, there are cases of an enslaved couple having children although there's no record of the couple getting married.[16] Romantic relationships and marriages occurred between couples who were enslaved by the same enslaver.[17] Relationships and marriages also

occurred between couples who were enslaved by different enslavers, requiring the couples to live separately from each other.[18] When a couple did live on separate farms, enslaved children typically lived with their mother.[19] In one case an enslaved man married a free woman of color who was living in another town.[20]

"Owning the covenant" is a phrase that appears often in this text that will be unfamiliar to many readers. It was a middle level of church membership—enjoyed by thirteen of Wenham's enslaved people—that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full membership.

- **Many worshipped at the Wenham Congregational Church.** Enslavers were taught that they had a duty to convert the enslaved members of their household to Christianity. And—it's worth pointing out—there was plenty of incentive for a given enslaved person to attend church services. His or her life would have been easier if he or she was a churchgoer. Over half the identified population was baptized by and/or worshiped at the church. In many cases the names of Wenham's enslaved people would have been lost if not for the church's records of their baptisms and church admissions.
- **Some were given names based on ancient Roman historical or mythological figures.** Names like Caesar, Flora, Pompey, Primus and Scipio were assigned repeatedly. Such names reflected a cultural fascination during the eighteenth century throughout the English colonies with the ancient world—and, interestingly, are names that were not used among Wenham's residents of European descent.[21]
- **Most probably lived in their enslaver's house.** Pompey Porter is documented as having lived in a room in the attic of his enslaver's house. A similar room survives in the Thomas Kilham House (pages 30-31) and provides an idea of what living conditions probably looked like for members of Wenham's enslaved population.
- **At least two of Wenham's enslaved men tried to escape.** One tried to run away while enslaved by a man who lived in Hamilton and was transferred into a Wenham enslaver's household after he was caught.

Another man tried unsuccessfully to run away from a Wenham enslaver.[22]

- **Punishment included physical punishment.** According to a story that was passed around within Wenham's enslaved community, the aforementioned would-be runaway was whipped after he was caught.[23]
- **At least three of Wenham's enslaved men fought the British in the Revolutionary War.** One man was at the Battle of Bunker Hill; another spent the Winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge.[24]
- **Manumission was rare, but not unheard of.** Enslaver Dr. Tyler Porter manumitted Scipio Lummus, probably in 1777, when Scipio reenlisted in the army to fight the British in the Revolutionary War. Enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. left instructions in his will to manumit Abner Brown after Nathaniel's death. Enslaver Mary (Porter) Cue may have manumitted Primus Boorgillar—or, if not, appears to have had an unusual relationship with Primus in which he was allowed to earn wages and perhaps live offsite from Cue.
- **Burial of the deceased was done on the respective enslaver's property.** Three sites have been identified where enslaved people are thought to be buried, each site being part of the respective enslaver's farm or part of the farm of the enslaver's immediate family: a site near 201 Larch Row, another site off of Dodges Row, and Pompey's Island.[25] No burials of enslaved people in the town cemetery on Main Street have been documented.[26] In addition, men who were building a polo field for Frederick Henry Prince (1858–1953) unearthed the remains of two people, who were thought to have been enslaved, on Prince's estate Princemere (now the site of Gordon College). Prince had the remains reinterred at an unidentified site on the Iron Rail property.[27] Finally, some have thought that enslaved people may have been buried in the Fairfield Burial Ground on William Fairfield Drive[28] and at an unidentified site on Cedar Street.[29]

> Many aspects of enslaved life in Wenham might seem pretty obvious, given the familiar picture of enslavement in the South. But that's exactly the point: These aspects of enslaved life happened here too.

Transfer of West African Culture

Two clues hint at the transfer of aspects of West African culture.

- **Annual festival in Lynn of enslaved people.** There was an annual festival in Lynn during the second half of the eighteenth century that was held at the house of a man who was colloquially called "King Pompey" (b? d. after 1787). He had been a prince of a people in West Africa, was kidnapped and brought to New England, was enslaved by the Mansfield family of Lynn, and was manumitted in the 1750s. An 1829 history of Lynn tells us:

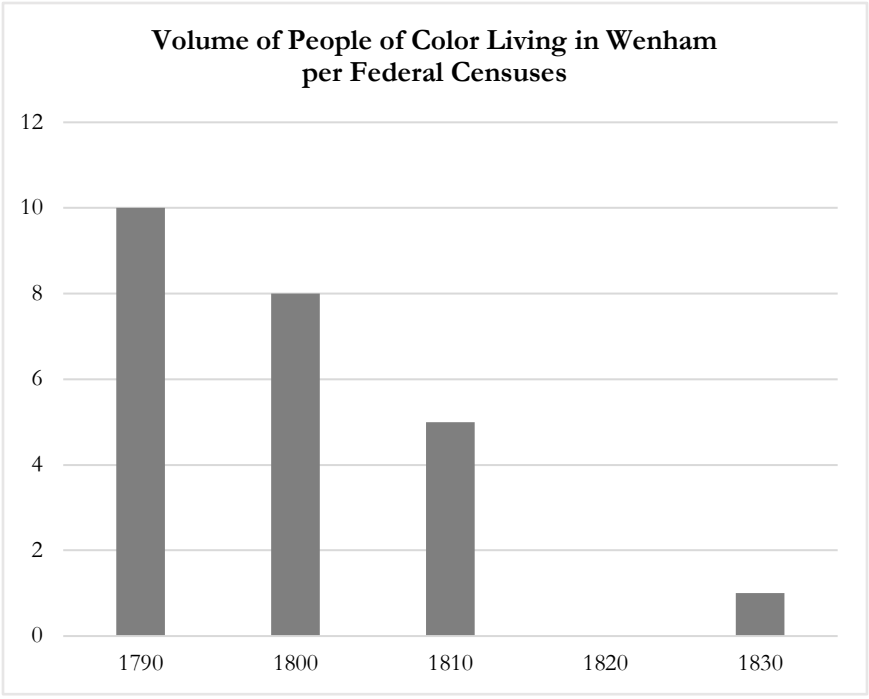
  > Every year, during [Pompey's] life, the slaves, not only of Lynn, but of Boston, Salem, and the neighboring towns, obtained leave of their masters, for one day, to visit King Pompey. This, to them, was a day of real happiness. Far from the eye of their masters, they collected on a little glade by the river side, and fancied themselves, for a few short hours, on the banks of the Gamba. Each youth on his way gathered wreathes, and each maiden flowers, of which they formed a crown to place on the head of their acknowledged prince. The old men talked of the happy days they had seen in their native land, and called to mind the wives and the children of their earlier years; while the youths and the maidens wandered along the river side, or strayed through the forest, and exchanged smiles, and formed dreams of happiness, which the future did not fulfill.[30]

  The writer's overly romantic language is certainly cumbersome ("maidens"?). Nonetheless, this anecdote about King Pompey—placed in the 1780s section of the 1829 history—provides a frustratingly-brief peak at one aspect of African American culture in southern Essex County: a holiday celebrating first-person experience of West Africa, attended by people not just from neighboring farms, but from neighboring towns. The image of enslaved peoples' barbeques on antebellum Southern plantations is well-known; the image of analogous parties in Massachusetts is much less so. Certainly, members of Wenham's enslaved community must have known of this annual celebration and may indeed have attended it. If so, it would have given them access to people who were born in West Africa.
- **Possible retained memory of West African burial practice.** An unusual story about Pompey Porter comes to us third hand, recorded in the

1860 history of Wenham, 27 years after Pompey died. According to the story, Pompey made the request that—after he died—his remains should be exhumed, and his skeleton should be wired together and put in the room in the attic where Pompey had lived. The reason? So that he could keep an eye on future generations of the family he had served. It is possible that Pompey was making a joke or was misquoted. But there were a number of peoples of West Africa who had a practice of burying their dead beneath or adjacent to the house in which they lived—so as to keep an eye on future generations of their family. If this story about Pompey is accurate, it appears that he was expressing a component of his spiritual belief system. And—since Pompey was born in Wenham, not in Africa—the story implies that someone who had been born in West Africa conveyed his or her recollection of West African burial practice to Pompey and/or other enslaved people in Wenham.

Exodus and Unfreedom

By the time of the Revolution the practice of enslavement was on the decline in Wenham and neighboring towns. After the Revolution, there was an exodus of formerly enslaved people seeking jobs in population centers like Salem and Boston. The Federal census of 1790 tallied just ten people of color in Wenham, 2% of the population. The 1800 census tallied eight people, and the 1810 census tallied only five.[31] While some formerly enslaved people adopted their former enslavers' surnames,[32] others adopted the surnames Black or Brown or Freeman.[33] Unfortunately, the widespread adoption of these surnames—by former residents of both Wenham and other towns—makes it very difficult to trace Wenham's formerly enslaved people once they left. Those who can be traced didn't fare well, given the competition for jobs in the post-war economy. The formerly enslaved man Sampson Brown lived for a time in the Boston almshouse. Another formerly enslaved man, Abner Brown, tried to move to Salem in 1790 but—along with other people of color—got kicked out, the Salem selectmen ostensibly not wanting to be responsible for their financial support should the people of color be unable to find work. Jethro avoided the cities but ended up in the Manchester almshouse. Nancy Porter 2nd also avoided the cities but ended up in the Topsfield almshouse.



Census data illustrates the exodus of people of color from Wenham, although the data is incomplete. Wenham's return for the 1820 Federal census excludes the column that tallied people of color—even though that column appears in the returns for other towns nearby. We can only guess whether this represented people of color's avoidance of the Wenham census-taker vs. the Wenham census-taker's avoidance of people of color.

A few formerly enslaved people did remain in Wenham. In some cases,[34] they were too old to risk finding employment elsewhere in an uncertain environment, and in other cases[35] they had become engrained in a service role in their respective former enslaver's household. One scholar has used the term "unfreedom"[36] that helps describe a strange status that lingered for decades whereby formerly enslaved people were legally free but weren't always treated that way.

The Massachusetts state constitution abolished enslavement in 1780 but change didn't come overnight. Ships engaged in the trade of enslaved Africans were still sailing into and out of Salem harbor. (Indeed, in 1789—almost a decade after the ratification of the Massachusetts constitution—there was a rebellion aboard one of these ships that had sailed out of Salem, in which the ship's captain was killed.[37] No doubt *that* was a topic of conversation in Wenham at the time.) But change lingered because it took time for the court system to interpret and enforce the Massachusetts constitution. It wasn't until 1836, when the Supreme Judicial Court ruled in the Commonwealth vs. Aves case, that enslaved people who were brought into Massachusetts from other states were considered free by virtue of crossing the state line.

Subtle clues in surviving documents point to the lingering nature of unfreedom in Wenham:

- The handful of people of color who remained in town were allowed by law to vote, and consequently they paid a poll tax. But each year's record of the tax separated the reporting for people of color from the reporting for other residents of town.
- In 1793 two people of color were about to be included as assets in a former enslaver's estate before being removed at the last minute from the inventory of the estate's assets.[38]
- When he wrote his will in 1811, a former enslaver bequeathed a formerly enslaved man to the enslaver's widow, as if the man were still property that could be transferred from one person to another.[39]

Town Financial Support

Since the seventeenth century, towns in Massachusetts were required to provide financial support to residents who were deemed paupers. In a typical arrangement the town contracted with a more financially-stable resident to provide room, board and medical care for a one-year period. (Although some towns, e.g., Manchester and Topsfield, founded almshouses, Wenham did

not.) By the nineteenth century Wenham, like other towns in Massachusetts, was reimbursed by the state for the financial support of paupers. Indeed, the designation of a given pauper as a formerly enslaved person tipped the scales away from town-level funding toward state-level reimbursement.[40] Wenham's Pompey Porter received state-funded town-administered financial support in the 1820s and early 1830s. Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman received intermittent financial support from the town between 1841 and her death in 1859, although it's unclear that the town received state reimbursement for the expense.

Wenham Neck resident Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman survived enslavement, witnessed the exodus out of Wenham, and lived long enough to sign a petition calling for the abolition of enslavement.

Abolition

Abolitionism found its momentum in Essex County in the 1830s following the founding of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Boston in 1831. The Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity was formed in 1834, a few of its earliest members being residents of Wenham. Four years later Wenham formed its own anti-slavery society, an organization that was closely aligned with the Baptist Church in Wenham Neck. The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society was short-lived, but during its brief tenure it (1) hosted the quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society in March 1839 and (2) helped to circulate (or indeed may have sponsored) an 1839 petition that sought the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people.

The meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Wenham Baptist Church. Its speakers included a fugitive enslaved man whose enslaver was described as "a distinguished Senator in a southwestern state." The as-yet unidentified fugitive man gave the meeting "some thrilling views of the evils of slaveholding as he had felt and witnessed them."[41]

As for the 1839 petition, 12% of the town's residents signed it, including 36 people who were children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren (or their spouses) of Wenham enslavers.[42] One signer of the petition was Wenham Neck resident Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman, whose signature appears as the

frontispiece of this book. Phyllis had been born into enslavement … witnessed the exodus of formerly enslaved people who left Wenham … was at one point the only person of color living in town … and lived long enough to see former-enslavers' family members advocate for abolition.

Meanwhile, Wenham was along one of the routes of the Underground Railroad, there having been documented Underground Railroad stations in Salem, Beverly, Ipswich and elsewhere in Essex County. Oral history maintains that the Josiah Dodge Jr. House on Larch Row (pages 148-158) was a station, but the surviving evidence is inconclusive. For more information on Wenham's abolitionists and possible role in the Underground Railroad see Appendix I.

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In the next three chapters we tour Wenham, starting near the Danvers-Wenham town line and working eastward. On this tour we will see 28 houses and house sites that were workplace-residences of Wenham's identified enslaved population. We will also see a tan yard and two mill complexes where some enslaved people worked, the Wenham Congregational Church where over half the identified population worshiped, and three sites where some are thought to be buried.

3 Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) household.

4 Benton (1905), 76-77.

In 1754 the colony conducted a census of enslaved people who were at least sixteen years old. Wenham reported sixteen people. The census return for Wenham only provides the total number of enslaved people; it does not provide gender, enslaved people's names, or enslavers' names. Province of Massachusetts Bay, MS (1754), 96. See also Moore (1866), 50-51. Even though sixteen enslaved people were tallied, a total of 21 enslaved people have been identified who were living in Wenham that year; see Appendix B.

In the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 Wenham reported eleven "servants for life," providing enslavers' names and volume of (anonymous) enslaved people in each enslaver's household. But the valuation tallied only those enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45 and therefore is of limited usefulness for estimating the total size of the enslaved population. Wenham's enslavers and the number of enslaved people tallied: Nathaniel Brown Jr. (3), William Cleaves (1), Capt. Jacob Dodge (1), Lieut. Richard Dodge (2), Peter Dodge (1), Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1), Dr. Tyler Porter (1) and Edward Waldren Jr. (1). Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 314-318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 160, 162, 780. The presence of an enslaved person in the Peter Dodge household was erroneously omitted from Pruitt (1998), 162.

5 Benton (1905), 76-79.

6 Appendix B. The percentage-of-total-assets metric is driven by the magnitude of enslavers' real estate holdings. The low financial values assigned to enslaved people are indeed a contributing factor but have significantly less impact on percentage-of-total-assets than real estate. For further context: The anonymous enslaved man who appears as an asset in Thomas Dodge's 1736 probate inventory was assigned a value equivalent to three horses; Sylvie and her daughter (who were included in Lieut. Richard Dodge's 1778 probate inventory) were assigned an aggregate value equivalent to three silver watches, or one and a half pews in the meeting house; Abner was assigned a value in Nathaniel Brown Jr.'s 1778 probate inventory that was equivalent to two cows. Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778), :14 Inventory (1778); 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :2 Inventory (1778); and 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736), :102 Inventory (1736).

7 Scipio Lummus was part of the Dr. Tyler Porter household. For Scipio "an African" who died in 1811 see pages 250-251. It was probably a couple of decades before the volume of Massachusetts-born enslaved people in Wenham and adjacent towns outnumbered those who were born in Africa or the Caribbean. Consider the cases of the enslaved people who were living during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, at least some of whom were probably born in Africa: the anonymous boy (active in 1703) in the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) household; the anonymous man (active 1712–1726) in the Walter Fairfield and Freeborn Balch (Beverly) households; Archelaus (b. ca.1714) in the Edward Waldren Jr. and Capt. Jacob Dodge households; Tobijah (b. ca.1714; unknown enslaver); Pompey Black (b. ca.1717) in the Lieut. William Dodge household; Caesar (d. 1723) in the Lieut. John Gott household; and Peter (d. 1723) in the Lieut. William Dodge household.

8 Examples: The children of Scipio and Sarah Black (Jonathan Porter household).

9 Dinah (unknown enslaver). Flora (Isaac Giddings Jr. household). Manning (Lieut. Richard Dodge and Capt. John Dodge households). Phoebe (Skipper Dodge household). Sampson Brown (Nathaniel Brown Jr. household).

10 Lazarus (Nathaniel Brown Jr. household). Anonymous man (Thomas Dodge household).

11 Examples: Archelaus (Edward Waldren Jr. and Capt. Jacob Dodge households). Hazor/Hazard (Lieut. Richard Dodge and John Gott Jr. households). Pompey Black (Lieut. William Dodge household).

12 Nancy 2nd a/k/a Nancy Porter (Lydia (Tyler) Porter and Dr. Tyler Porter households).

13 Scipio Lummus and Pompey Porter (see the Dr. Tyler Porter household for both).

14 Examples: Scipio (Peter Dodge household). Archelaus, Daniel, Eli and Jethro (Capt. Jacob Dodge household). Abijah, Hazard, Hampshire and Jack (Lieut. Richard Dodge household). Thanks go to James Tanzer for sharing his findings from his study of the Dodge family account books in the collection of the Wenham Museum.

15 Appendix B.

16 Example: Hazard and Flora (Lieut. Richard Dodge household).

17 Examples: Scipio and Sarah Black (Jonathan Porter household). Hazard and Flora (Lieut. Richard Dodge household).

18 Examples: Archelaus (Capt. Jacob Dodge household) and Phoebe (Richard Hubbard Dodge household). Hazard (John Gott Jr. household) and Judith (Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge household, Beverly). Jethro (Capt. Jacob Dodge household) and Flora (Capt. Daniel Goodhue household, Ipswich). Primus Boorgillar (Mary (Porter) Cue household) and Flora (Dea. Thomas Chadwick household, Boxford). Sharper (Samuel Gott household) and Deborah (Joseph Herrick household, Topsfield).

19 Example: The children of Sharper (Samuel Gott household) and Deborah (Joseph Herrick household, Topsfield).

20 Primus Boorgillar (Mary (Porter) Cue household) and Peggy Otum.

21 When Wenham's minister Rev. Robert Ward Jr. (1694–1732) died he bequeathed copies of works by the Roman poets Virgil, Horace, and Martial to the grammar school at Charlestown. He noted that these works were *ad usum Delphini* (sometimes called the Delphin Classics). The Delphin Classics was a series of texts in Latin, annotated in English, that had been expurgated of content that was deemed inappropriate for younger readers. Ward was born in Charlestown in 1694, the son of Robert and Margaret (Peache) Ward. Essex County Probate 28926 ([Rev.] Robert Ward [Jr.], 1732), Will. Joslyn, ed. (1984–1995), 1:1:31, 162. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #19387767.

22 Scipio Lummus (John Lummus household, Ipswich; later Dr. Tyler Porter household). Hazard (Lieut. Richard Dodge household).

In addition, Sampson Brown probably ran away from enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr.

23 Appendix G.

In each of the two documented cases of attempted escape (i.e., Scipio Lummus and Hazard), the enslavers placed newspaper ads describing the enslaved men they were trying to find. Scipio Lummus was described as having scars on his temple and Hazard was described as having scars on his legs. Although we know that Hazard's scars were from cuts from an ax, we don't know in either Scipio's or Hazard's case whether their scars were the result of accidents or the result of punishments.

24 Scipio Lee Dodge (Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household). Sampson Brown (Nathaniel Brown Jr. household). Scipio Lummus enlisted when he ran away from the John Lummus household in Ipswich and was subsequently transferred to the Dr. Tyler Porter household in Wenham.

Hampshire (Lieut. Richard Dodge household) might have been a sailor in the Continental Navy.

Fortune Ellery also fought in the Revolution, identifying his residence as Wenham. He appears not to have been enslaved at the time of his enlistment. Further research is needed to determine whether he was born a free man of color or had been manumitted prior to his enlistment.

25 For the burial ground near 201 Larch Row see page 165. For the possible burial ground off Dodges Row see pages 165-167, Appendix L and Appendix M. For Pompey's Island see pages 187-188 and Appendix H).

26 Oral history maintains that enslaved people may have been buried adjacent to but outside the original footprint of the cemetery, an idea that is extremely difficult to accept; see Appendix M.

It's an open question when the Main Street cemetery was established. An 1893 newspaper article about Wenham's 250th Anniversary celebration noted: "Tradition says … that many years ago there was a gravestone in existence at the present cemetery, which bore the date of 1642." "Wenham's 250th Birthday Celebration" (1893). But the reference to a 1642-dated gravestone seems apocryphal.

The earliest mention of the cemetery in the town's records is from 1682:

> Its [*sic*] voated [*sic*] that Isack Hull have liberty to Run a fenc [*sic*] from Corner to Corner of his fenc taking in the buiring [*sic*] place upon the Condition that if the towne [*sic*] se [*sic*] cause to fence their buiring place the said Hull shall make one halfe [*sic*] of it ye fenc betwine [*sic*] the said buiring place & his Land.

Town of Wenham, MS (1642–1706), 67 (frame 38). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 59. The earliest mention of a town-paid grave digger is from 1695. Town of Wenham, MS (1642–1706), 98 (frame 53). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 114-115.

27 See Appendix M. Further research of Prince's personal papers is warranted to see whether Prince recorded the site of the discovery and/or the site of the reinterment.

28 According to Wenham resident Frank Eldridge, Albert "Albie" Winslow Dodge (1914–2015) once told Eldridge that enslaved people were buried in the Fairfield Burial Ground. But unfortunately we don't know whether Albie was relaying oral tradition vs. making a conjecture. Eldridge (2024). This begs the unanswered question of whether enslaved people may have been buried in the Dodge Burial Ground in North Beverly.

29 See Appendix M.

30 Lewis (1829), 181. See also Essex County Probate 17590 (Daniel Mansfield, 1758), :8 Inventory (1758), "negro man named Pompey." Essex County Deeds 148:135 (Pompey Mansfield to heirs of Isaac Hower, 1787). Lewis (1844), 218. Lewis and Newhall (1890), 344. Newhall (1897), 198, 236. Hawkes (1907), 88, 92-93, who states that King Pompey's former house was still standing in 1907.

31 Census records should be interpreted directionally as an illustration of the population's decline. The actual population may have been under-reported in any or all of these censuses, as there is the possibility that people of color may have avoided census-takers and/or census-takers may have avoided people of color.

Of interest: The town's 1790 total census-reported population was 502, which had declined from mid-century levels. This reflects, in part, the post-war migration of people of both European and African descent.

32 Example: Pompey Porter (Dr. Tyler Porter household).

33 Examples: Abner Brown and Sampson Brown (both Nathaniel Brown Jr. household).

34 Examples: Archelaus (Capt. Jacob Dodge household). Pompey Porter (Dr. Tyler Porter household). Sarah Black (Dr. Tyler Porter household). Thanks go to Jeanne Pickering for sharing her insights on the migration of formerly enslaved people from rural communities to larger population centers.

35 Examples: An anonymous son of Archelaus (Skipper Dodge household or perhaps Capt. Jacob Dodge household); Violet and two anonymous boys (Capt. Jacob Dodge household); Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman (Capt. John Dodge household); and Sally (Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household).

36 Hardesty (2016). Although Hardesty's focus is on pre-Revolution Boston, his model replaces the traditional dichotomous conception of enslavement and freedom with a continuum of unfreedom. See also Whiting (2019).

37 The schooner *Felicity* was engaged illegally in the trade of enslaved Africans, with Salem being its home port. Its captain was William Fairfield (1748–1789), who was a great-grandson of Wenham enslaver Walter Fairfield (ca.1631–1723). Thirty-five enslaved people were onboard. Although they killed Capt. Fairfield they were overcome by the ship's crew. Essex Institute (1888). Bentley (1905–1914), 1:104, 123.

38 Essex County Probate 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), :19, Inventory (1793).

39 Essex County Probate 22519 (Tyler Porter, 1811), :6, Will (1811).

40 Bell (2021), 3, chapter 3. Thanks go to Edward L. Bell for sharing his research on state-funded town support of paupers.

41 Torrey (1839), 58.

42 Appendix I.

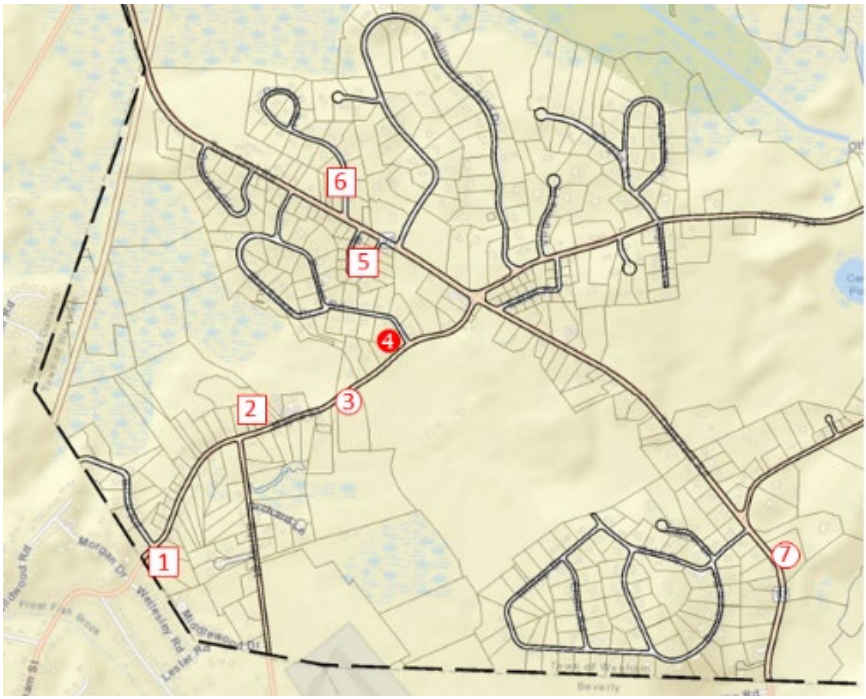
WEST WENHAM

SINCE the late 1600s West Wenham has been defined as the part of town to the west of "the Straits," which is the area along Cherry Street between Muddy Pond and Cedar Pond. By the eighteenth century this part of Wenham was known as "the West End."[43] The neighborhood had become so populous that it even had its own schoolhouse, at the southwest corner of Maple Street and Topsfield Road.

The neighborhood's major roads during the eighteenth century were the same as today (Burley Street, Cherry Street, Maple Street, Topsfield Road)—except that the section of Topsfield Road running from the Maple Street-Cherry Street intersection to a spot near 76 Topsfield Road wasn't laid out until the 1830s. Travelers going from Topsfield to Beverly had a zigzagging route and had to turn down Cherry Street to Flint Street. Now abandoned, Flint Street ran from the current-day intersection of Cherry Street and Stage Hill Road, past the Higgenson Bicentennial Playground[44], to Topsfield Road.

At the start of the eighteenth century large tracts of what had been town-owned common land were privatized. Leach's Swamp, along today's rail trail to Danvers, became a collection of timber lots. So also did Wenham Swamp, also called the Great Swamp. Portions of Lord's Hill, to the north of the Beverly town line, became pastureland.[45]

Six houses have been identified in West Wenham that were the work-place-residences of enslaved people, one of which—the Thomas Kilham House—is still standing. Ten enslavers owned these houses, and thirteen enslaved members of their households have been identified. West Wenham was also the site of the Gott Family tan yard, which was likely the workplace of enslaved members of the Samuel and Daniel Gott households.



1. Joseph Hacker House
2. Gott Family Tan Yard
3. Charles Gott Jr. House
4. Thomas Kilham House
5. Fiske-Gott House
6. Thomas Fiske Jr. House
7. Herrick-Cue House

● Surviving house
○ Former site, high conviction
□ Former site, medium conviction

Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. All sites are on private property.

1. The Joseph Hacker House, Formerly Near 115-117 Maple Street

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved man in the Capt. John Baker household by 1745*

Joseph Hacker (d. before 1753) built a house on this site in 1700. It was acquired by Capt. John Baker (bp. 1701–1745) in 1732 and became the Baker family's homestead. The house was taken down in 1842.[46]

Baker married Sarah Herrick (bp. 1707–1744) in 1723. They had eleven children, six of whom died during childhood. He acquired the title of captain while fighting in King George's War (1744–1748) and was likely at the Siege of Louisbourg at Cape Breton.[47] His 1745 estate inventory included an anonymous enslaved man who likely worked Hacker's farm.[48]

2. The Gott Family Tan Yard, Formerly Near 70-74 Maple Street

- *Likely workplace of Sharper in the Samuel Gott and Daniel Gott households by 1738 and through 1761*
- *Likely workplace of an anonymous enslaved man in the Samuel Gott and Daniel Gott households by 1752*

Samuel Gott (1695–1752) started a tanning business about the year 1725 and his son Daniel continued it until Daniel died in 1758. The tan yard was in the approximate area of 70-74 Maple Street. In its day it was one of the largest tanneries in Essex County; the 1752 inventory of Samuel's estate shows that he had 100 calf skins in process.[49] The inventory also included two enslaved men—one of whom has gone unidentified, the other of whom was named Sharper.[50] Both likely did farm work for the Gott family and also likely worked in the Gotts' tan yard.

Leathermaking in Eighteenth Century Wenham

Tanning is the multi-step process for treating animal hides to produce leather—and in eighteenth century Wenham it was disgusting work. It involved soaking of hides in vats of limewater or watered-down urine (which facilitated the removal of hair and fat), followed by soaking in a solution of water and feces (which softened the hides). Tree bark was ground into a powder in a bark mill. The bark powder was then leached in water to release tannin, which was used in the final stages of the process to convert the cleaned animal hide into leather. The vats could be either above ground or in-ground, and the work area where the vats were located was called a tan yard.

Wenham had other tanners in addition to the Gotts:

- In 1707 Daniel Claflin (1674–1775) was granted a third of an acre of town-owned common land to set up a tan yard along Longham Brook to the east of Dodges Row. He sold the operation, including tan vats as well as a bark mill, in 1722.[51]
- Josiah Dodge Jr. (1698–after 1772), an enslaver whose farm is discussed on pages 148-158 and who lived in Wenham until 1743, was a tanner.[52]
- During the latter half of the eighteenth century the Orne family had a tan yard and bark house along Longham Brook to the west of Dodges Row.[53]
- William Parker had a tan house in 1771, its location unidentified.[54]

3. The Charles Gott Jr. House, Formerly at 47 Maple Street

- *Residence of Sharper in the Samuel Gott and Daniel Gott households by 1738 and through 1761*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved man in the Samuel Gott and Daniel Gott households by 1752*
- *Residence of Scipio in the Daniel Gott household by 1753 and through 1758*
- *Residence of Grace in the Daniel Gott household by 1753 and through 1758*
- *Residence of Caesar in the Daniel Gott household by 1758*
- *Residence of Cate in the Daniel Gott household by 1758*

Charles Gott Jr. (1639–1708) built his house probably about the year 1666, and it was owned by members of the Gott family through the eighteenth century. The house (or possibly an eighteenth century replacement that had been built on its site) burned in 1969 when an airplane approaching Beverly Airport crashed in the yard.[55] Samuel Gott (1695–1752), the tanner discussed above, was a grandson of Charles Jr. and was an owner of the house. He married Hannah Andrews (1702–1766) in 1723. Samuel and Hannah had seven children, two of whom died before reaching adulthood.[56]

An enslaved man named Sharper was part of Samuel Gott's household by 1738; that year Sharper owned the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church. The fact that the church recorded his owning of the covenant but not also his baptism indicates that he was baptized by a different church in a town other than Wenham and was subsequently moved into the Gott household from another enslaver. As property, Sharper was inherited by Samuel Gott's son Daniel Gott (1724–1758) in 1752. Sharper remained on the Gott farm until he died in 1761.[57]

In 1738 Sharper married Deborah, who was enslaved by Joseph Herrick (1667–1749) of Topsfield. Sharper and Deborah had six children:

- Bilhah (a daughter), who was baptized in 1739 in Wenham[58]
- Enos, who was baptized in 1741 in Topsfield
- Zilpah (a daughter), who was baptized in 1744 in Topsfield and died in 1773 in Topsfield
- Charles, who was baptized in 1746 in Topsfield and died that year or the following year, probably in Topsfield

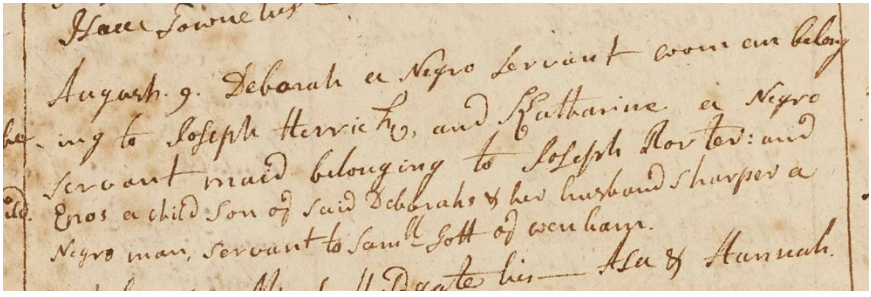
The Charles Gott Jr. House, photographed in 1919.[59]

- Charles 2nd, who was baptized in 1748 in Topsfield, and
- Abner, who was baptized in 1752 in Wenham.

Deborah was baptized in 1741 in Topsfield at the same time as her son Enos. She continued to live in Topsfield after marrying Sharper, along with their children, and worshiped at the Topsfield Congregational Church. Deborah, Bilhah, Zilpah and Charles 2nd appear in the 1749 probate inventory for Joseph Herrick. By the time Abner was baptized in 1752, however, Deborah was part of the Josiah White (1703–1761) household in Wenham discussed on page 107.[60] (It is possible that she was subsequently moved to the Andrew Cole (1729–1787) household, discussed on page 97. A woman named Deborah died in 1764 while part of the Cole household, although no evidence has been found that she was indeed the same Deborah who was part of the White household during the 1750s.)

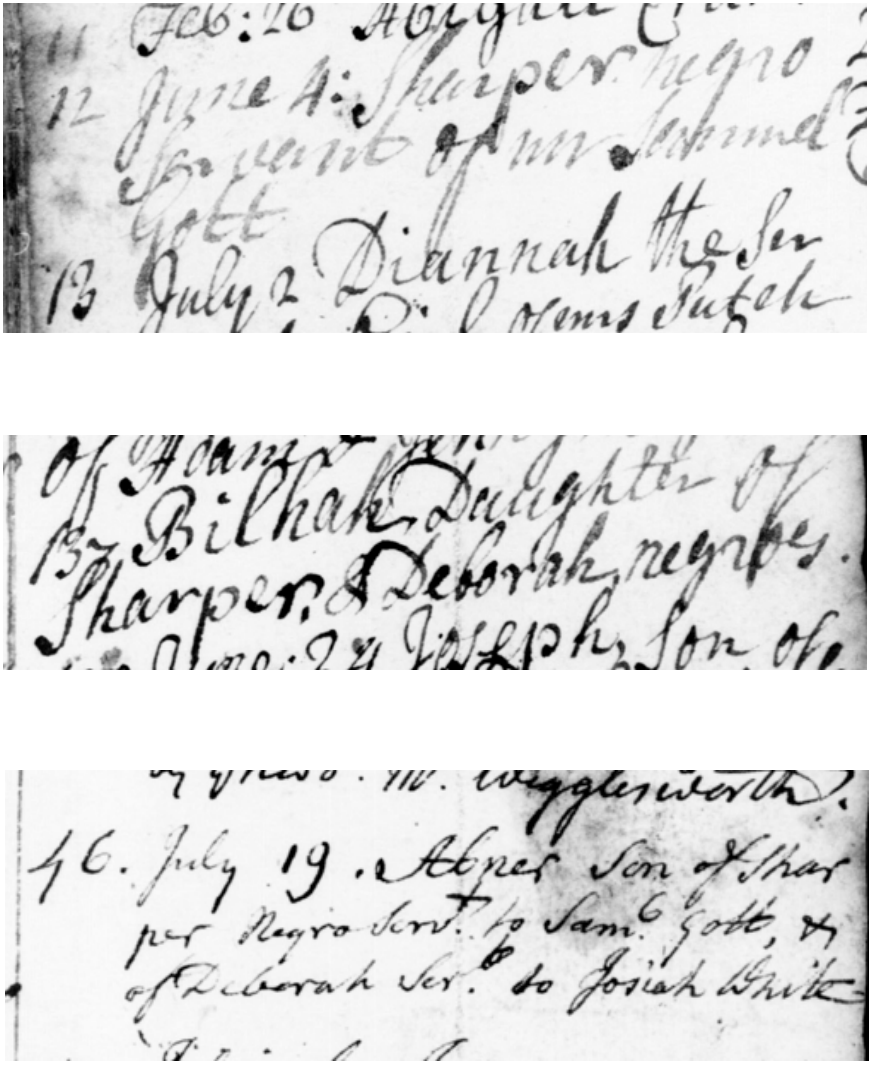
There were two enslaved men named Abner living in Wenham in the 1770s, and the Abner baptized in 1752 may have been one of them. One was part of the Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) household by 1774 if not by 1771, discussed on page 85. The other was part of the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) household by 1771, discussed on page 206.[61] In addition, he could have been the Abner Black who was living in Wenham between 1783 and 1790, discussed on page 249-250.

The 1752 inventory of Samuel Gott's estate included two enslaved men—Sharper, and one other man who has gone unidentified.[62]



Augush. 9. Deborah a Negro Servant woose cue belong
ing to Joseph Herrick, and Katharine a Negro
Servant maid belonging to Joseph Norton: and
Enos a child Son of said Deborahs & her husband Sharpes a
Negro man, Servant to Samll Gott of wenham.
Abia & Hannah.

Record of Deborah's and Enos's baptisms, 1741.[63]



Records of Sharper's owning of the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church (1738) and Bilhah's and Abner's baptisms (1739 and 1752).[64]

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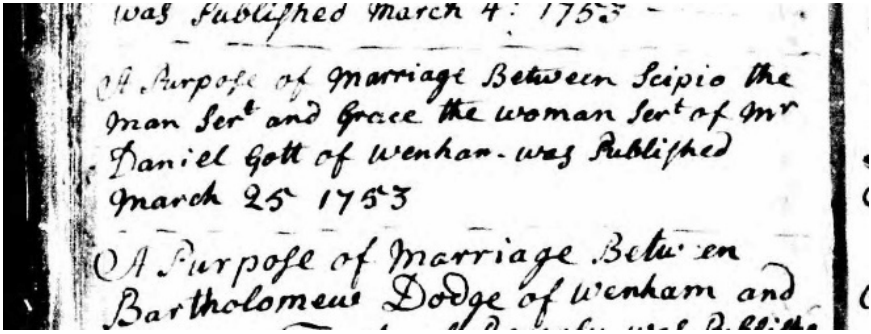
Daniel Gott (1724–1758), Samuel Gott's son, married Mary Rogers (1720–after 1759) in 1743. They had five children, one of whom died as an infant. Like his father, Daniel was a tanner.[65]

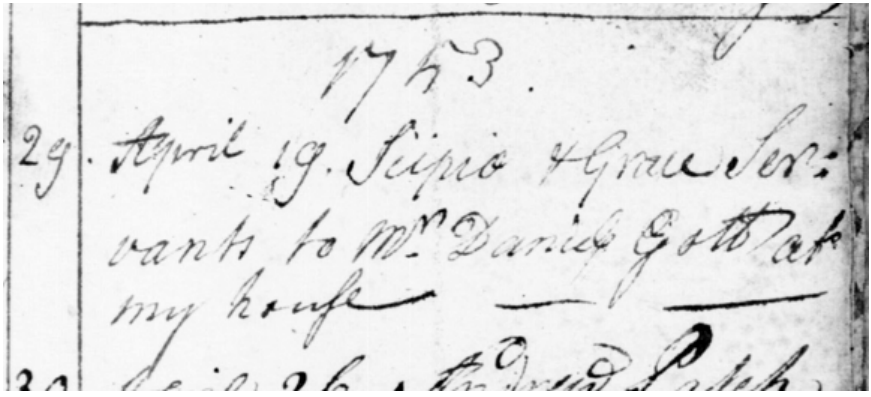
Daniel inherited Sharper and an anonymous enslaved man from Samuel Gott in 1752. The anonymous man may have been Scipio, who was part of Daniel Gott's household in 1753 when Scipio married Grace (another enslaved person in Daniel's household). Neither Scipio nor Grace was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church, yet they were married by Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792) at Swain's house. It seems unlikely that the minister would have married a couple who hadn't been baptized, which suggests that both were baptized in a town other than Wenham and were subsequently transferred into the Gott household from another enslaver(s). Both were living in 1758 when they were included in Daniel's probate inventory. Caesar (identified as a "boy") and Cate (a "child") also appear in the 1758 inventory, immediately after Scipio and Grace. One can hypothesize that they were Scipio and Grace's children.[66] As with the enslaved people in the Samuel Gott household, those in the Daniel Gott household likely did farm work as well as work in Gott's tan yard.


was Published March 4: 175[illegible]

A Purpose of Marriage Between Scipio the
man Ser[t] and Grace the woman Ser[t] of Mr
Daniel Gott of Wenham. was Published
March 25 1753

A Purpose of Marriage Between
Bartholomew Dodge of Wenham and

Town clerk's record of the intention of marriage for Scipio and Grace, 1753.[67]


1753.

29. April 19. Scipio & Grace Ser:
wants to Mr Daniel Gott take
my house

Church record of Scipio and Grace's wedding at Rev. Joseph Swain's house, 1753.[68]

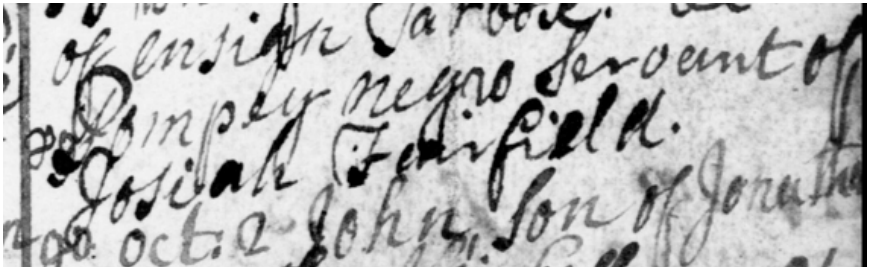
4. The Thomas Kilham House, 26 Maple Street

- *Residence of Pompey in the Josiah Fairfield household by 1737*

Thomas Kilham built this house by 1686 and sold it to the Fairfield family in 1701.[69] Josiah Fairfield (1701–1745) received it as a wedding present from his father William in 1725, having married Eunice Cogswell (ca.1703–1730) the prior year. Josiah's second wife was Elizabeth Appleton (ca.1706–1800) whom he married in 1731. Josiah and Eunice had four children, all of whom died during childhood. Josiah and Elizabeth had eight children, only three of whom reached adulthood. In the 1730s he farmed 45 acres that straddled Maple Street.[70]

Pompey, an enslaved man in the Fairfield household, was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1737. His baptism and owning of the covenant were on the same day as Wharfer's (Capt. Thomas Tarbox (1684–1774) household) baptism and owning of the covenant (Wharfer being an enslaved man on the abutting farm).[71] The Thomas Kilham House has a room in its attic that dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and may be a reconfiguration of an earlier room. If an earlier room did exist in this location, it is likely that it was Pompey's living quarters.

Pompey's death was not recorded by the church or the town clerk. One wonders, though, whether he might have been buried with members of the Fairfield family in the Fairfield Burial Ground on William Fairfield Drive.[72]



Record of Pompey's baptism, 1737.[73]

Attic room in the Thomas Kilham House, exterior. The room as currently configured dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and therefore postdates Pompey's time in the house. But it gives us an idea of what Pompey's living conditions may have looked like.[74]

Attic room in the Thomas Kilham House, interior. The slanted portion of the ceiling has wood shingles nailed to the underside of the roof deck to prevent rainwater from dripping into the room. The horizontal portion of the ceiling and the walls are plastered. There is no plaster anywhere else in the attic—which indicates this room was used for habitation and not just storage. It is an extremely uncomfortable room: beastly hot in the summer and bitter cold in the winter.[75]

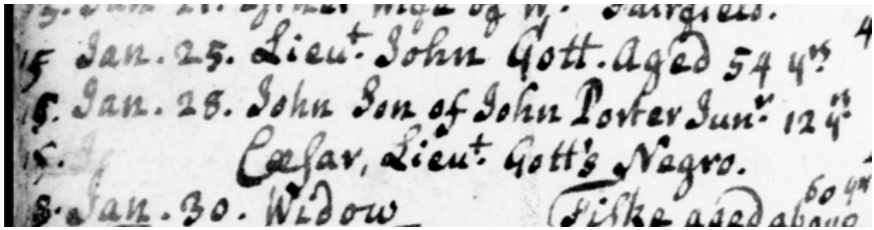
The Thomas Kilham House.[76]

5. The Fiske-Gott House, Formerly Near Meridian Road

- *Residence of Caesar in the Lieut. John Gott household by 1723*
- *Residence of Hazard in the John Gott Jr. household by 1754 and as late as 1762*

William Fiske 3rd (1663–1745) built a house in the vicinity of Meridian Road probably around 1695. In 1710 he sold it to Lieut. John Gott (1668–1723). The house subsequently came to be owned by his son John Gott Jr. (ca.1694–1761) who raised his family there. The house burned in 1797 or 1798.[77]

Lieut. John was the son of Charles Gott Jr. and father of Samuel Gott, discussed above in the context of the Charles Gott Jr. House. He married Rebecca Tarbox (1672–1765) in 1693 and they had three children. Gott died in 1723 during what appears to have been a smallpox epidemic.[78] Lieut. John had an enslaved man named Caesar in his household. Caesar died just three days after Gott, probably also of smallpox.[79]


Jan. 25. Lieut. John Gott. Aged 54 4ms
Jan. 28. John Son of John Porter Junr 12 4ms
Caesar, Lieut. Gott's Negro.
Jan. 30. Widow

Partial church record of deaths during the epidemic of 1723. Lieut. John Gott is #15 while Caesar is #17. Lieut. John's age is provided but Caesar's is not.[80]

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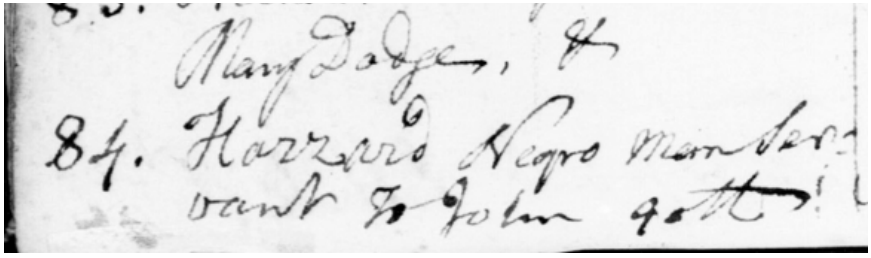
John Gott Jr., Lieut. John's son, was a carpenter and housewright, and was on the committee that oversaw the construction of Wenham's Fourth Meeting House in 1748. By 1756 he was a shipwright. He was married twice. His first wife, whom he probably married in 1715, was Martha Kimball (ca.1692–1750). His second wife, whom he married in 1750, was Elizabeth (Rogers)

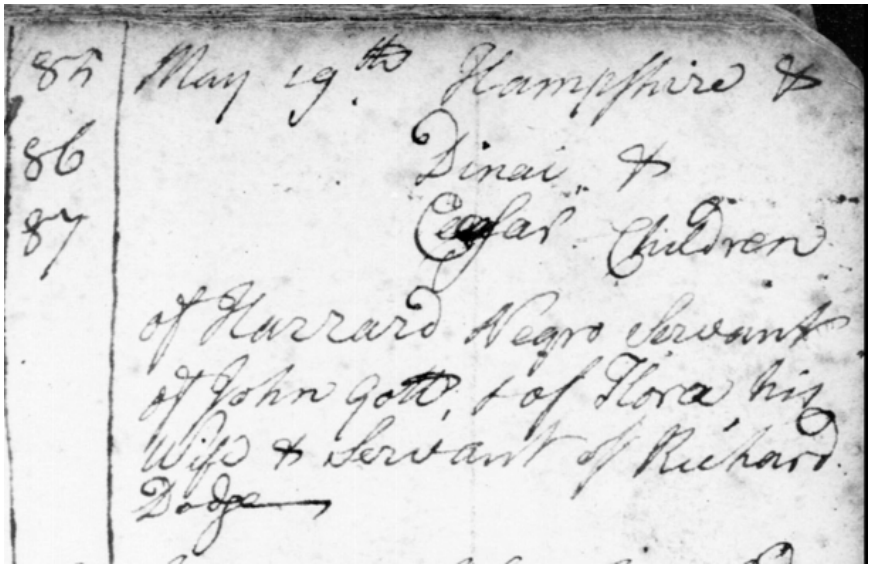
Kimball (1714–by 1790). John and first wife Martha had five children, all of whom died during a diphtheria epidemic in 1737. John and second wife Elizabeth had three children, all of whom lived to adulthood.[81]

John Gott Jr. had an enslaved man named Hazard in his household by 1754. Born about 1720 or 1721 and originally known as "Hazor," he had been enslaved by Nehemiah Dodge of Ipswich until 1745, at which point he was sold to enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) of Wenham. He tried to run away from Dodge in 1751, by which time he was known as "Hazard" (see pages 181-184), but was captured and sold to Gott in 1753 or 1754. Hazard undoubtedly spent most of his time working the Gott farm. After all, John Gott Jr. didn't have any adult sons in the 1750s to help him with its operation, and Gott the shipwright would have spent time away from the farm when he was building a ship.

In 1754 Hazard was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant. Two years later he was admitted to full communion with the church. He had partnered with Flora when they were both part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household, their first child Hampshire having been born in the late 1730s or 1740s. They had two more children together—Dinah and Caesar—and all three children were baptized in 1754 at the same time as Hazard.[82] The children were part of the Dodge household along with their mother.[83] Flora remained in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household and died in 1757.[84] (For Flora and the children see page 184.)

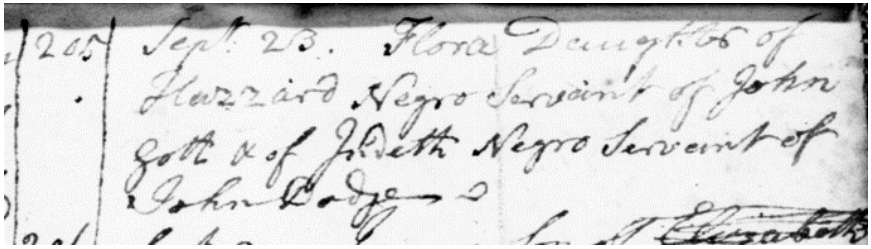
In 1758 (at Beverly) Hazard married Judith, an enslaved woman in the Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge (bp. 1680) household of that town. By 1759 Judith had been transferred to the John Dodge (1717–1779) household discussed on pages 59-62. That year Hazard and Judith's daughter Flora was baptized. (Flora seems to have been named for the mother of Hazard's other children.) Hazard was still part of the Gott household when John Gott Jr.'s probate inventory was made in 1762. He is the only enslaved person who appears in that inventory.[85]



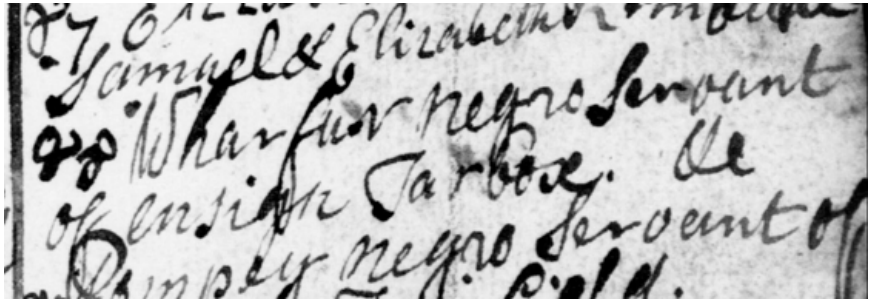

85 May 19th Hampshire &
86 Dinai. &
87 Cæsar. Children
of Hazzard Negro Servant
of John Gott, & of Flora his
Wife & Servant of Richard
Dodge

Records of Hazard's and his children Hampshire, Dinah ("Dinai") and Caesar's baptisms, 1754.[86]

Records of Hazard's owning of the covenant and full communion with the Wenham Congregational church, 1754 and 1756.[87] "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.



Record of Flora's baptism, 1759.[88]



Record of Wharfer's baptism, 1737.[89]

6. The Thomas Fiske Jr. House, Formerly Approximately Near 3 or 6 Daniels Road

- *Residence of Wharfer in the Capt. Thomas Tarbox household by 1737 and as late as 1759*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved person in the Samuel Tarbox household during the eighteenth century*

Thomas Fiske Jr. (ca.1653–1723) owned a farm along Topsfield Road and built a house, probably about the year 1687, that was rather set back from the road on a site approximately near 3 or 6 Daniels Road. He sold it in 1712 to Capt. Thomas Tarbox (1684–1774). It's not known how long the house stood, but it was gone by the beginning of the twentieth century when its cellar hole was recorded by a local historian.[90] Capt. Thomas Tarbox was a housewright. He married Esther Edwards (ca.1681–1766) in 1707. They had ten children, five of whom died as children.[91]

Wharfer, an enslaved man in Capt. Thomas' household, was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1737. Wharfer's baptism and owning of the covenant were on the same day as his neighbor Pompey's (Josiah Fairfield household) baptism and owning of the covenant. Wharfer was admitted to full communion with the church in 1759.[92]

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Samuel Tarbox (1715–1784), like his father Capt. Thomas, was a housewright. He had two buildings identified as "shops" on his property in 1771. Although the record of his shops doesn't tell us what they were used for, their presence presents the possibility that Tarbox was engaged in another trade in addition to house building.[93] In 1737 he married Mary Cue (1718–1792), a daughter of enslavers Robert Jr. and Mary (Porter) Cue, discussed below. They had nine children, three of whom died in childhood. He was deacon of the Wenham Congregational Church from 1760 until his death in 1784.[94] A 1905 genealogy states that Samuel had one enslaved person (gender not recorded) in his household.[95] An anonymous person of color was tallied as a member of widow Mary (Cue) Tarbox's household in the Federal census of 1790,[96] someone who probably had previously been enslaved by the Tarbox family.

7. The Herrick-Cue House, Formerly at 36 Topsfield Road

- *Residence of Primus Boorgillar in the Robert Cue Jr. and Mary (Porter) Cue households by 1737 and perhaps as late as 1773*

The house at 36 Topsfield Road is a nineteenth century structure built on the site of a late seventeen century house. The earliest mention of the original house is from 1695, when Robert Cue (ca.1662–1699) bought it from his father-in-law Ephraim Herrick (bp. 1638–1693).[97] Cue was married twice. His first wife was Mary Herrick (b. 1667), whom he married in 1682. His second wife was Elizabeth (maiden name unknown, ca.1652–1726), whom he married about the year 1690.[98] At the time of his death, Cue had an indentured servant in his household, Eleazer Lake, who was born in Topsfield in 1686.[99]

Robert Cue Jr. (1695–1737) inherited his father's house. When Robert Jr. died in 1737 his estate included an enslaved man named Primus.[100] Mary (Porter) Cue (1700–1795), Robert Jr.'s widow, inherited both the house and Primus from her late husband. (Robert and Mary had married in 1718 and had seven children, all girls.) Mary remained a widow for an astounding 58 years, an amount of time that was remarkable for the eighteenth century. She continued to live in the Herrick-Cue House at least until 1794 if not until her death the next year.[101]

Primus was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1737, and was admitted to full communion in 1742. In 1753 he married (at Boxford) Flora, an enslaved member of the Dea. Thomas Chadwick (1712–1788) household of that town. Flora died there in 1756. By 1759 Primus had adopted the surname "Boorgillar" (which is likely a phonetic spelling), the reason for which is unexplained. That year Primus Boorgillar and Peggy Otum, a free woman of color of Hampton Falls, announced the intention of their marriage.[102]

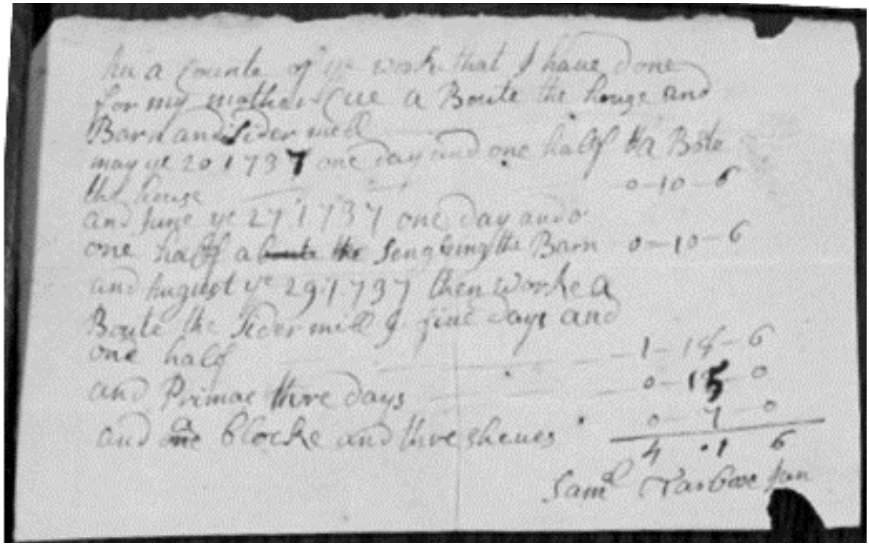
Primus and Peggy had two daughters, Dillah (b. 1761) and Phoebe (b. 1764). Both were born in Wenham, presumably on Mary Cue's farm. Both were baptized at the Wenham Congregational Church, indicating that their parents were among the group of enslaved people who worshiped there.[103] And both were likely considered free people of color under the doctrine of *partus sequitur ventrem* which said that a child's legal status was inherited from her mother. In 1780 Dillah married Cato Ranson in Danvers; in 1782 Phoebe married Caesar Brooks in Danvers. The Danvers town clerk rendered both

brides' surname as "Bargila" and the Wenham town clerk rendered Phoebe's surname as "Boargillah."[104]

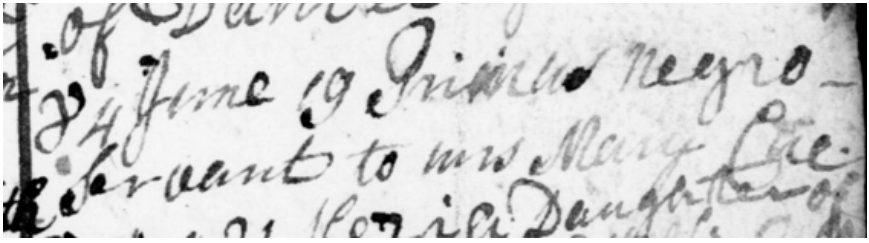
Mary (Porter) Cue might have manumitted Primus, although if so, documentation of his manumission has yet to be found. This hypothesis is based on two things: Primus was paid for his labor in 1768, and Primus and Peggy were "warned out" of town in 1773.

Primus and "Black Peggy" appear in the Wenham town clerk's records in 1768 in the context of the settlement of the estate of widow Susanna Gross (ca.1686–1768). Gross did not have the financial means to support herself and consequently had been placed in the town's care. (As was the practice at the time for the town's poorest people, the town paid a third-party resident to provide room, board and medical care for a one-year period.) After Gross' death Peggy bought some of Susanna's pewter at auction. In addition, Peggy was paid by the selectmen "for assisting the nurse in dressing the sores of the deceased" (Susanna Gross) and Primus was paid for chopping wood. If Primus was enslaved at the time, his enslaver would have been paid for his labor. The fact that Mary (Porter) Cue *wasn't* paid for Primus' labor is an indicator that he may have become a free man.[105]

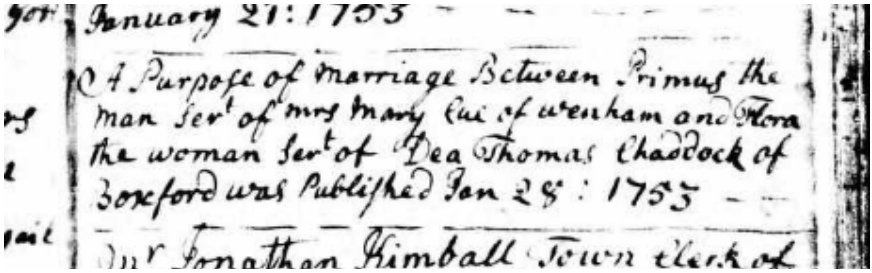
Five years later, in 1773, Primus and Peggy were warned out of town. Warning-out was a practice that managed a town's risk of having to provide financial support to low-income residents (such as Susanna Gross) or otherwise unwelcome individuals. When someone was warned out, the town constable evicted that person from the town. The court record identifies Primus as "a negro man servant of Mary Cue of Wenham" and Peggy as "a free negro woman of Wenham," and indicates that the case was dismissed without trial.[106] But the circumstances of the warning-out are unexplained. Although the town making the complaint to the court isn't actually identified, it was most likely Wenham. It's important to note that the court record *doesn't* identify Primus as a free person of color, which argues against the hypothesis that Mary (Porter) Cue had manumitted him. It's also important to note that a warning-out would have been triggered by someone other than Cue—which suggests that Cue had consented to Primus living offsite with his wife and daughters.[107] But if Cue *didn't* manumit him, could the Cue-Boorgillar relationship hint at the existence of a rare model of enslavement? In other words, might it have been the case that in rare instances an enslaved man was allowed to earn wages from a third party and live offsite from his enslaver?


An a Count of ye work that I have done
for my mother Cue a Boute the Rouge and
Bard and Sider mell
may ye 20 1737 one day and one half ye Bote
the Rouge 0-10-6
and June ye 27 1737 one day and
one half a ~~Boute~~ the Seng bring the Barn 0-10-6
and August ye 29 1737 then worke a
Boute the Sider mell 9 jene days and
one half 1-14-6
and Primus three days 0-15-0
and ~~one~~ Blocke and five sheues 0-7-0
4-1-6
Sam[l] Tarbox Jun

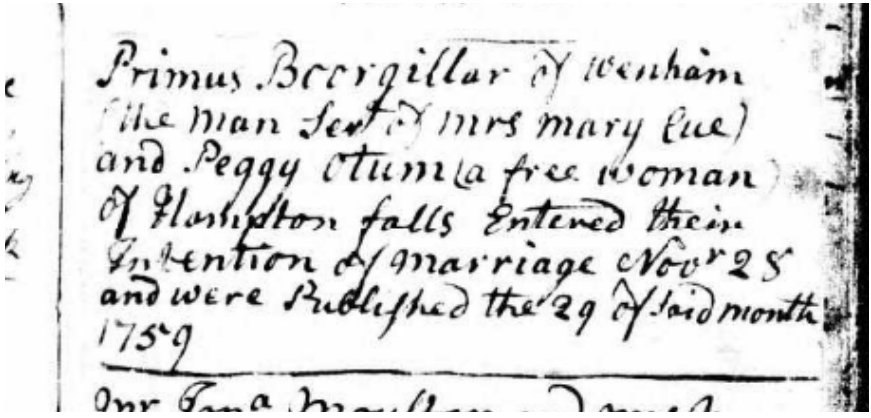
1737 receipt mentioning Primus.[108]


of Dan
y 4 June 9 Primus Negro
Servant to mrs Mary Cue
Daughter of

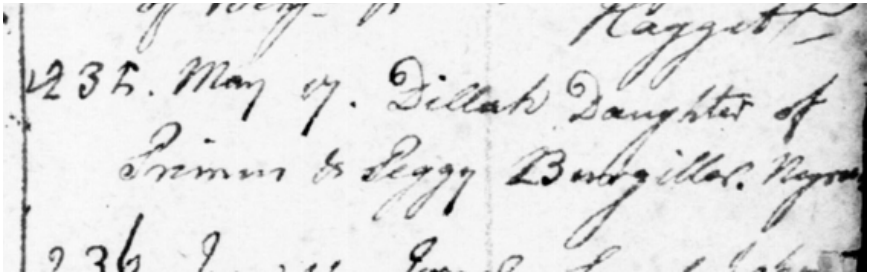
Record of Primus' baptism, 1737.[109]

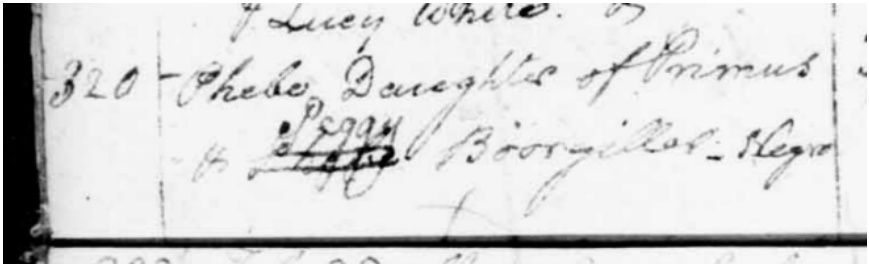

January 21: 1753
Of Purpose of Marriage Between Primus the
man Serv[t] of mrs Mary Lee of Wenham and Flora
the woman Serv[t] of Dea Thomas Chaddock of
Boxford was Published Jan 28: 1753

Record of Primus and Flora's intention of marriage, 1753.[110]

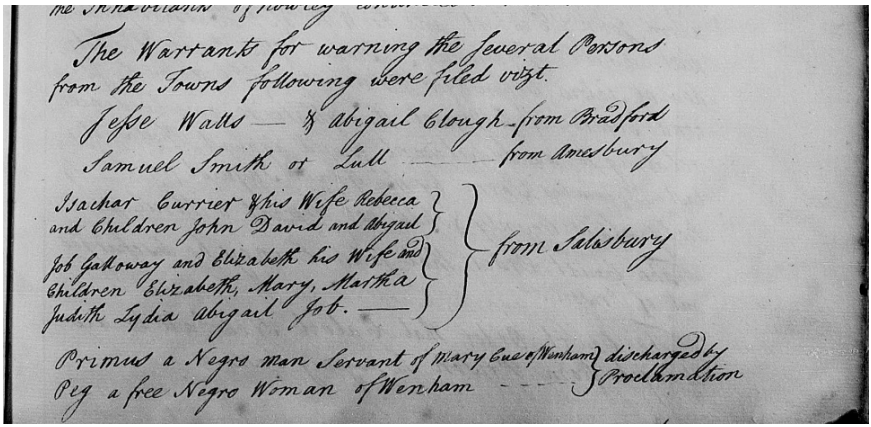

Primus Boorgillar of Wenham
(the man Serv[t] of mrs Mary Lee)
and Peggy Otum (a free woman)
of Hoghston falls Entered their
Intention of marriage Nov[r] 25
and were Published the 29 of said month
1759

Record of Primus Boorgillar's and Peggy Otum's intention of marriage, 1759.[111]





Records of Dillah's and Phoebe's baptisms, 1761 and 1765.[112]



The Warrants for warning the several Persons from the Towns following were filed viz't.

Jesse Walls — & abigail Clough — from Bradford

Samuel Smith of Lull ——— from Amesbury

Isachar Currier & his Wife Rebecca and Children John David and Abigail
Job Galloway and Elizabeth his Wife and Children Elizabeth, Mary, Martha Judith Lydia Abigail Job. —— } from Salisbury

Primus a Negro man Servant of Mary Cue of Wenham } discharged by
Peg a free Negro Woman of Wenham ——— } Proclamation

Court record of Primus' and Peggy's warning-out, 1773.[113]

43 "The Straits" as a place name was still in use as late as the 1910s. Essex County Deeds 57:130 (Ebenezer Fiske to Nathaniel Brown Jr., 1730); 73:229 (Nathaniel Browne [*sic*, Jr.] to Joseph Batcheller [*sic*], 1736[/7]); 112:84 (Benjamin and Margaret Trow to Jonathan Kimball Jr., 1750[/1]); and 158:178 (Thomas Kimball to Nathaniel Kimball, 1793). Town of Wenham (1916), 47. Wenham Historical Society, (1930), 99, 142, 158, 167, 179. Phillips (1938), 107. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 41, 43. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 137.

44 This was recently renamed as the West Wenham Playground, the change of name reflecting a tipping point characteristic of suburban life whereby the volume of Wenham residents who didn't grow up here has come to outnumber the volume of residents who did grow up here.

45 For more information on West Wenham's early farms, common land and roads see Corcoran (2021–2025), vol. 1.

46 Hacker received timber grants to build a 20' × 20' barn (1696) and a 26' × 18' house (1700). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 140, 176. The house was originally of one-room plan, about 250 feet south of Maple Street and to the west of Burley Street. It faced south. Like so many other houses of one-room plan, it grew over time. It was dismantled in 1842, but a former resident recalled it as having evolved to a two and a half-story saltbox with a small projecting entry and an ell on one side at the rear. Gragg (1900), 5-7. The Hacker farm straddled Maple Street. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 18-19. Its orchard was along the north side of Maple Street. Essex County Deeds 162:50 (Anna Edwards to Cornelius Baker, 1796), second parcel.

In the first edition of *Enslaved People & Wenham* I sited the Joseph Hacker House near 4-12 Middlewood Drive based on an undated map attributed to Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921) showing the location of a cellar hole that Conant believed was the site of the Hacker House. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #41. Having done more research, however, I find that the 4-12 Middlewood Drive site is too far to the south to have been within the footprint of Hacker's farm. Indeed, the Middlewood Drive site is within the footprint of the former Paul Porter (1776–1861) Farm, which earlier (by 1705) had been the site of the John Herrick House. Mindful of (1) the 204.59-foot distance between Maple Street and the Joseph Hacker House garden wall (Essex County Probate 1417 (Cornelius Baker, 1808), :11 Division of Real Estate (1822)) and (2) local topography—I now favor the area near 115-117 Maple Street as the site of Hacker house. For the John Herrick House see Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 132.

Title History (Joseph Hacker Farm): 70-acre joint grant to brothers Robert Leach (bp. 1614) and John Leach (bp. 1616) from the town of Salem, 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634−1720), 43; and Essex Institute (1868), 88. Essex County Deeds 16:25 (John and Sarah Leach to Edward Whittington, 1686; and Edward Whittington to Joseph Hooker [*sic*] and John Berry, 1689); 39:182 (John Leach Sr. to Edward Whittington, 1689; and Edward Whittington to Joseph Hooker and John Berry, 1689); 59:117 (Joseph Hooker et al. to [Capt.] John Baker et al., 1732); and 94:171 (Benjamin Herrick et al. to [Capt.] John Baker, 1732). Essex County Probate 1445 (Capt. John Baker, 1745), :3 Will (1745), :7 Inventory (1745). Essex County Deeds 148: 189 (Cornelius Baker to John Clarke, mortgage, 1788). Essex County Probate 1417 (Cornelius Baker, 1808), :10-12 Division of Real Estate (1822). Essex County Deeds 226:45 (John Baker to Simeon Putnam, mortgage, 1821); 243:163 (Sarah Baker to Cornelius Baker, 1825); 240:217 (Uzziel Dodge, administrator, to Isaac Woodberry Jr., 1826), first parcel; 245:35 (Isaac Jr. and Nancy Woodberry to Samuel Obear, 1826), first parcel; 245:35 (Samuel and Abigail Obear to

Uzziel Rea, mortgage, 1827), first parcel; and 275:236 (Amos Sheldon, administrator, to Joel Wilkins, 1834). Gap in title history. To Warren Peabody (1783–1854) but deed not recorded. Essex County Probate 49487 (Warren Peabody, 1854), :4 Inventory (1854), :19-24 Widow's Thirds (1854). Essex County Deeds 517:35 (Joseph Cook, administrator, to Edward W. Peabody, 1855); 567:138 (Edward W. and Elizabeth Peabody to George W. Peabody, 1857); 567:282 (George W. and Lucy Peabody to Joseph Cook and William B. Morgan, 1858); 1875: 26 (Martha A. Morgan and Isaac M. Woodbury to Edgar E. Stanyan, 1907); 2071:58 (Edgar E. and Ida E. Stanyan to George P. Davison, 1911); 2236:256 (George P. and Sarah Davison to Josie Giles, 1913); 2290:501 (Fred W. and Josie Davidson [*sic*] Giles to Pierre and Adelle Deschenes, 1915); 2390:178 (Pierre and Adelle Deschenes to James and Charles Spiliotis, 1918); 2839:515 (James Spiliotis et al. to Alice M. Hogan, 1930); 2839:516 (Alice M. Hogan to James P. Spiliotis et al., 1930); and 4156:442 (James Spiliotis to Michael and Lucy Caruso, 1955), first parcel. *Maps*: Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #41. Commonwealth of Massachusetts Harbor and Land Commission (1905), folio 21, Danvers-Wenham 3. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 34, "Edgar E. Stanyan" property. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (1941), 1971.10.031B. Essex County Deeds Plan 73:52 ("Plan of Maple Street in Wenham as Relocated," 1941), sheets 1-2; and 88:58 ("Plan of Crestview Subdivision Section 'A'," 1956). Lillie (1976), "1st. Lt. Cornelius Baker" House. *Other References*: Gragg (1900), 7-9. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 60, 184 (1681 and 1700 perambulations). Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 160, 162, 175-176, 184, 186, 204-205, 235-236, (1757, 1760, 1763, 1766 and 1769 perambulations). Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 18 (1681 perambulation), 95. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 69-70, 86, 124, 151, 181, 195 (1786, 1790, 1798, 1801, 1805 and 1806 perambulations). Lillie (1984), 15-17, 20, 22-23. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:42-43, 122, 124. Corcoran (2023), 47. Corcoran (2024), 14-15. Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 28.

47 Essex County Probate 1445 (Capt. John Baker, 1745). Herrick and Herrick (1885), 237, 244. Essex Institute (1904), 8, 9, 88, 130, 183, 184. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:31. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 3:72, 492. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19382955 and 19382973.

48 Essex County Probate 1445:7.

49 Essex County Probate 11323 (Daniel Gott, 1758), :7 Division of Estate, tan vats, tan house, lime house; :24 Inventory (1758), tan house, tan yard; :28 Inventory, bark shaves, fleshing knives, beaming knives. Essex County Probate 11342 (Samuel Gott, 1752), :3, tan yard, twenty cords of bark, calf skins; :6, tan yard. M. O. Allen (1860), 135. Pool (1872), 23-24. Perley (1888), 2:1242. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #39 "near the old Gott Tannery." Cutter (1908), 3:1213-1214. Cole (1943), 54. Lillie (1984), 3, 8, I-A1, I-A5. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:123. Corcoran (2024), 13-16, 21. Per Pool, the tan vats were in-ground. The tan house does not appear in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 for Elizabeth Gott. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 317. Pruitt (1998), 162.

50 Essex County Probate 11342:2.

51 Essex County Deeds 41:29 (Daniel and Sarah Claflin to Emerson Cogswell, 1722). Perley (1888), 2:1242. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 3-4, 29, 165; "John Dodds" at 3 is a transcription error for John Dodge. Cole (1943), 54. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.029. Both Cole and Dodge thought that Claflin's tan yard was near 107 Larch Row. See pages 176-179 for discussion of the Claflin property.

52 Essex County Deeds 124:54 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1742[/3]) and 124:59 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1742[/3]). L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.029, sited "Claflin's tan yard" on the same spot

as the Josiah Dodge Jr. House formerly near 107 Larch Row. Cole (1943), 54, seems to agree with him. But the unanswered question is whether (a) Josiah Dodge Jr. built his house on the prior site of Claflin's tan yard or (b) Cole and Louis Dodge conflated the Josiah Dodge Jr. tan yard with the Claflin tan yard along Longham Brook.

53 Essex County Deeds 111:232 (Skipper Dodge to Joshua Orne, 1764); 178:254 (William Orne et al. to Joshua Orne [Jr.], 1796; 200:171 (Joshua [Jr.] and Sally Orne to Nathaniel Flint, 1806); and 200:171 (Nathaniel and Nabby Flint to William Cleaves, 1813). Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 315 (tan house). Essex County Probate 20081 (Joshua Orne, 1784), :8 Inventory (1784), "tanyard [*sic*] and bark house." Pruitt (1998), 162 (tan house). The vats were in-ground; see Perley (1888), 2:1242. The tan yard and bark mill were adjacent to the Amos Dodge House shown on the map on page 179.

54 Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 315. Pruitt (1998), 162. Parker has yet to be identified.

55 Charles Gott Jr. (1639–1708) probably built his house shortly after he and his brother bought the northern portion of the former Thomas Trusler Farm in 1666. In 1772 it was described as a south-facing, two-room-plan house with a lean-to along its north wall and a porch at its south entrance.

Title History: 100-acre grant to Thomas Trusler (d. 1654), 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 38; and Essex Institute (1868), 78. Gap in title history. To Ens. John Fiske (bp. 1627–1683) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 3:72 [236] ([Ens.] John and Remember Fiske to Charles [Jr.] and Daniel Gott, 1665). Essex County Probate 11321 (Charles Gott Jr., 1708), :15 Inventory (1708). Essex County Deeds 41:17 (John Gott to John Gott [Jr.] and Samuel Gott, 1723); and 49:2 (division of property between John [Jr.] and Samuel Gott, 1724), first moiety. (The 1724 division of property was recorded in a highly detailed deed, the recorded copy of which has been badly damaged. Much of its content, unfortunately, has been lost.) Essex County Probate 11342 (Samuel Gott, 1752), :3 Inventory (1752), :6 Will (1752), bequest to son Daniel Gott (1724–1758); and 11323 (Daniel Gott, 1758), :6-9 Division of Estate (1772), :24 Inventory (1758). Essex County Deeds 140:237 (Moses and Elizabeth Titcomb to Nathan Wood, 1770); and 149:56 (Moses and Elizabeth Titcomb to Joseph Fairfield, mortgage, 1785). Gap in title history. To Timothy Leach (m. 1791), whose wife Lydia (Gott) Leach (b. 1751) was a sister of Elizabeth (Gott) Titcomb (1749–1838), but deed not recorded. Leach identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Deeds 200:162 ([Capt.] John Moulton to Nathaniel Kimball, 1813). Gap in title history. To Nathaniel Kimball (1770–1855) but deed not recorded. (See Essex County Deeds 167:144 (Timothy and Lydia Leach to [Capt.] John Moulton, 1800); and 200:162 ([Capt.] John and Molly Moulton to Nathaniel Kimball, 1813 for an abutting lot. Neither deed mentions a house.) Essex County Deeds 312:253 (Nathaniel and Rebecca Kimball to Benjamin Dodge, 1836); 312:258 (Benjamin and Mehitable Dodge to Samuel Symonds, 1839); 422:132 (Samuel and Sally Simonds [*sic*] to Joseph G. Kent, 1850); 422:133 (Joseph G. and Nancy Kent to Samuel Simonds, mortgage, 1850); 2235:125 (John K. Kent et al. to Joseph F. Kent, 1913); 2367:301 (Elmira E. Fulcher to John K. Kent, 1917); 2367:302 (John K. Kent to Andrew Schlehuber, 1917); 2370:187 (Andrew Schlehuber to Alma F. Schlehuber, 1917); 2985:155 (Alma F. and Andrew Schlehuber to Carl W. and Hazel A. Gram, 1934); 3276:535 (Carl W. and Hazel A. Gram to Francis B. and Evlyn L. Chalifoux, 1941); 3378:99 (Evelyn [*sic*] L. Chalifoux to Francis B. Chalifoux, 1944); 3509:185 (Francis B. Chalifoux to Rita Wheelwright, 1947); 3675:156 (Francis B. and Elizabeth R. Chalifoux to Laurence J. Jr. and Natalie M. Brengle, 1949); 5743:727 (Laurence J. Jr. and Natalie M. Brengle to Gardner B. and Alice D. Tipert, 1971); and 15073:5 (Gardner B. and Alice D. Tipert to 47 Maple Street Trust, 1998). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "J. G. Kent" House. Beers (1872), 95, "J. G. Kent" House. Walker (1884), 87, "J. G. Kent" House. Walker

Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 34, "Joseph F. Kent" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 78:14 ("Plan of Land of Francis B. Chalifoux & Elizabeth R. Chalifoux, Located in Wenham, Mass.," 1949); and 133:79 ("Plan of Maple Street in the Town of Wenham," 1975). Lillie (1976), "Josiah Fairfield [*sic*]" House. (Lillie was under the mistaken impression that this house was once owned by Josiah Fairfield; see Lillie (1984), 25-26. See also Ganz (2013), 109. Unfortunately, Lillie was interpreting Essex County Deeds 123:267 (Josiah Fairfield to Matthew Fairfield, 1777) as applying to the Charles Gott Jr. House lot, instead of the lot to the east of Company Lane.) *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), 35. Lillie (1984), 7-8, 25-26. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:51-57, 122-123, 156-161. Corcoran (2024), 14, 17-22. Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 193, 218.

56 Essex County Probate 15516 ([Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1766), :2 Receipt from Hannah Kimball witnessed by Elizabeth Gott (1767). Andrews (1890), 203, 211. Essex Institute (1904), 41, 42, 86, 125, 201, 207. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 1:39, 3:52, 434. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:111-112, 123. Corcoran (2023), 47. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52878358. Hannah (Andrews) Gott married enslaver Ens. Benjamin Kimball in 1754. Essex Institute (1904), 125, 135; see also Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:113. Kimball is treated on page 101 of this text.

57 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 66. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:112. "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church. Sharper's name, of course, is unusual to today's ear—but it wasn't unique. Another example was Sharper Freeman (ca.1742–1822), an enslaved man born in Africa who was buried in Reading. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #19956475.

58 Bilhah's father had owned the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church, but Bilhah's mother hadn't yet been baptized. Consequently, Bilhah was baptized at Wenham instead of Topsfield. But despite her baptism at Wenham, she was probably never a resident of Wenham and likely lived with her mother in Topsfield during infancy and early childhood.

59 Photographed June 30, 1919 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #03307. This image previously appeared on Josephs and Heitz (1992), 0:39:28, and in Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:57. It is possible that the structure shown here was an eighteenth century replacement of the Charles Gott Jr. House.

60 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42, 122. Topsfield Congregational Church, MS (1726–1869), 22, 26, 30, 32, 77. Essex County Probate 13159 (Joseph Herrick, 1749), :7 Inventory (1749). Essex County Probate 11323 (Daniel Gott, 1758), :28, Inventory (1758). Essex County Probate 29607 (Josiah White, 1761), :7 Inventory (1761). M. O. Allen (1860), 90. Herrick and Herrick (1885), 210. Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:113, 258. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:112.

61 The Abner in the Brown household was identified by name in Brown's will of 1774 and is probably one of the three anonymous enslaved people tallied in the Brown household in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778). Pruitt (1998), 160. If the Abner in the Brown household was indeed one of the three people tallied in 1771, then he and the Abner in the Dodge household were two different men—since the Abner in the Dodge household was recorded as being in the Dodge household in 1771 and 1773. [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 9, 31. But if the Abner in the Brown household was *not* one of the three people tallied in the Brown household in 1771, then it's possible that all three Abners were the same man:

part of the White household in 1762, part of the Dodge household during 1771–1773, and part of the Brown household by 1774.

62 Essex County Probate 11342:2.

63 Topsfield Congregational Church, MS (1726–1869), 22: "August 9. Deborah a Negro Servant woman belonging to Joseph Herrick, and Katharine a Negro Servant maid belonging to Joseph Porter: and Enos a child son of said Deborah[']s & her husband Sharper a Negro man servant to Sam[ll] Gott of Wenham."

64 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55: "[#]12 June 4: Sharper negro Servant of Mr Samuel Gott." 122: "[#]137 Bilhah Daughter of Sharper & Deborah negroes." 42: "[#]46. July 19. Abner Son of Sharper Negro Serv[t]. to Sam[l]. Gott, & of Deborah Ser[t]. to Josiah White."

65 Essex County Probate 11323 (Daniel Gott, 1758), :19-23, Widow's Dower (1759). White (1900), 1:47. Essex Institute (1904), 41, 42, 74, 125, 163, 201. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60733173.

66 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 86. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 186). Essex County Probate 11323 (Daniel Gott, 1758), :28. Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181.

67 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 186): "A Purpose of Marriage Between Scipio the Man Ser[t] and Grace the woman Ser[t] of M[r] Daniel Gott of Wenham was Published March 25 1753."

68 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 86: "[#]29. April 19. Scipio & Grace Servants to M[r]. Daniel Gott at my house."

Cole (1943), at 7, contends that Rev. Swain's house was on the site of 188 Main Street prior to the construction of the brick house that's there today, a site that in 1943 was owned by Rupert Crehore (1900–1968). See Essex County Deeds Plan 1950:655 ("Land of Rupert H. and Helen V. Crehore, Wenham, Mass.," 1950). But perhaps Cole was conflating the 188 Main Street site with neighboring 16 Larch Row—which (with its eleven acres) Rev. Swain bought in 1761. Essex County Deeds 110:48 (John Warren [Jr.] to [Rev.] Joseph Swain, 1761).

69 Dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the existing house, if any, incorporates the original structure. The house is currently owned by the author and his husband.

Title History: To Phineas Fiske (ca.1600–1673), probably by grant from the town of Salem, perhaps ca.1639. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:13. Phineas Fiske identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 3:72 [236] ([Ens.] John and Remember Fisk[e] to Charles Jr. and Daniel Gott, 1665). Estate of Phineas Fiske (1673), Will (bequest to sons James (d. 1689), John (bp. 1627–1683) and Thomas Fiske (bp. 1630–1707)), Inventory (50 acres of land "in the woods"). Essex Institute (1916–1920), 2:371-372. Gap in title history. To Daniel Kilham (ca.1620–1700) but deed not recorded. To son Thomas Kilham (ca.1653–1725) but deed not recorded. Thomas Kilham identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 8:108 [285] (Daniel Kellum [*sic*] to John Gilbert and Daniel Kellum [*sic*] Jr., 1688), second parcel, and in Essex County Deeds 15:106 (Charles Gott [Jr.] to John Gott, 1696). Essex County Deeds 15:63 (Thomas and Martha Killam [*sic*] to William Fairfield, 1701), first parcel; 70:75 (Willliam Fairfield to Josiah Fairfield, 1725); 78:178 (William Fairfield to Josiah Fairfield, 1738), first parcel; 121:

231 (Josiah and Elizabeth Fairfield to Benjamin Fairfield, 1767), first parcel; 126:217 (Benjamin and Martha Fairfield to Josiah Fairfield, 1767), first parcel; 125:143 (Josiah and Elizabeth Fairfield to Benjamin Fairfield, mortgage, 1767); and 135:80 (Josiah Fairfield to Matthew Fairfield, 1771), second deed. Essex County Probate 9191 (Josiah Fairfield, 1777), :12 Inventory (1778), :21 Will (1777), bequest to sons Matthew Fairfield (1745–1813) and [Dr.] Josiah Fairfield [Jr.] (1747–1794). Essex County Deeds 141:123 (Elizabeth Fairfield vs. Matthew and [Dr.] Josiah Fairfield [Jr.], writ of dower, 1783); 146:8 (Stephen Dutch vs. Matthew Fairfield, 1785); 153:244 (Matthew Fairfield to [Dr.] Josiah Fairfield [Jr.], 1788); 162:277 (Matthew Fairfield to Thomas [Jr.] and Joseph Kimball, 1797); 162:164 (Joseph Fairfield to [Rev.] John Fairfield, 1797), second and third parcels; and 163:19 (Joseph and Thomas Kimball Jr. et al. to Samuel Fisk[e] [Jr.], 1797). Gap in title history. To Thomas Kimball Jr. (1756–1810) but deed not recorded. Essex County Probate 15769 (Thomas Kimball [Jr.], 1810), :24 Inventory (1811), :20-21 Widow's Dower (1813). Essex County Deeds 203:248 (John Kimball to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1814); 220:68 (Edmund Kimball et al. to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1815); 214:131 (Thomas Kimball [3rd] to Edmund Kimball, mortgage, 1817); 224:55 (Thomas Kimball [3rd] et al. to Edmund Kimball, 1820); 233:72 (Benjamin P. Kimball to Edmund Kimball, 1823); 233:86 (Edmund and Mary Kimball to Thomas Kimball [3rd], deed and mortgage, 1823); 233:86 (Thomas Kimball [3rd] to Edmund Kimball, mortgage, 1823); 236:181 (John Kimball 2nd [*sic*] to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1824); 236:181 (Benjamin Porter Kimball to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1824); and 338:196 (Ebenezer Todd et al. to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1835). Essex County Probate 44452 (Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1846), :5 Inventory (1846), :15-16 Widow's Dower (1847), :27-31 Division (1847). Essex County Deeds 531:286 (William C. Todd to Nancy Kimball, 1855); 531:286 (Edmund and Mary O. Kimball to Solomon E. Kimball, 1856); 531:287 (Ebenezer S. Kimball to Solomon E. Kimball, 1856); 536:296 (Nancy and Joseph G. Kent to Solomon E. Kimball, 1856); and 708:111 (Edmund Kimball et al. to Solomon E. Kimball, 1866). Inherited by Elwell F. Kimball (1873–1957) per Essex County Probate 150305 (Solomon E. Kimball, 1924). Essex County Deeds 4145:110 (Elwell F. and Mary S. Kimball to George R. Wheeler, 1955), first parcel; 4172:383 (George R. Wheeler to Eldridge T. and Dorothy E. Davis, 1955), first parcel; 4172: 385 (Eldridge T. and Dorothy E. Davis to Equitable Co-Operative Bank, mortgage, 1955), first parcel; 4199:298 (Eldridge T. and Dorothy E. Davis to Earle W. and Josephine A. Newton 1955); 4199:299 (Earle W. and Josephine A. Newton to Haverhill Savings Bank, mortgage, 1955); 4383:10 (Earle W. and Josephine A. Newton to Anna M. McGraw, 1957); 4483: 152 (Anna M. McGraw to Earle W. and Josephine A. Newton, 1957); 4483:153 (Earle W. and Josephine A. Newton to Evelyn Pescosolido, 1958); 4483: 154 (Evelyn Pescosolido to Haverhill Savings Bank, mortgage, 1958); 5715:133 (Evelyn Pescosolido to Dwain B. and Carol C. Smith, 1970); 5715:134 (Dwain B. and Carol C. Smith to Beverly Savings Bank, mortgage, 1970); 5824:397 (Dwain B. and Carol C Smith to Robert W. and Nancy M. Hatch, 1971); 5824:398 (Robert W. and Nancy M. Hatch to Gloucester National Bank, mortgage, 1971); 6141:232 (Robert W. and Nancy M. Hatch to Dorothy H. Warren, 1975); and 6141:233 (Dorothy H. Warren to Lincoln Co-Operative Bank, mortgage, 1975). *Maps*: Hales (1825), unlabeled house. Walling (1856), "T. Kimball Est." House. Beers (1872), 95, "T. Kimball Est." House. Walker (1884), 87, "S. Kimball" House. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #37½. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 34, "S. Kimball" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 4199:298 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Owned by Eldridge T. Davis," 1955); 88:54 ("Plan & Profile, Puritan Road," 1955); 90:89 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Owned by Eldridge T. Davis," 1956); and 1958:629 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Evelyn Pescosolido," 1958). Lillie (1976), "Capt. Matthew Fairfield c. 1695" House. *Other References*: Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS,

WNH.121 (1977, 1985). Ganz (2013), 179-187. Corcoran (2021–2025). Corcoran (2024), 5, 13-14, 23-26. Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 102-104, 128.

70 *The Salem Gazette*, March 21, 1800, 3. W. S. Appleton (1873), 8. Essex Institute (1904), 35, 86, 99, 117, 196. Essex Institute (1910), 2:28, 106, 156. Cutter (1913), 1:178. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:114-122. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #102899525 and 142195868.

71 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 124. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:124-125. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904). "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.

72 According to Wenham resident Frank Eldridge, Albert "Albie" Winslow Dodge (1914–2015) once told Eldridge that enslaved people were buried in the Fairfield Burial Ground. But unfortunately we don't know whether Albie was relaying oral tradition vs. making a conjecture. Eldridge (2024). This begs the unanswered question of whether enslaved people may have been buried in the Dodge Burial Ground in North Beverly.

73 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 124: "[#]89 Pompey negro Servant of Josiah Fairfield."

74 December 5, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran. Exterior dimensions are 9' east-west by 14' 10" north-south. The room originally had a knee wall, but that wall is now missing, perhaps having been removed when the attic was insulated in the 1970s or 1980s. "PETER" is written on chalk on the door and faces the interior of the room when the door is closed. Peter has not been identified. See also Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:175-176.

75 December 5, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

76 November 11, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

77 The house disappeared suddenly in 1797 or 1798, and it is an assumption that the house burned. Thomas Kimball Jr. (1756–1810) owned both the Fiske-Gott Farm and the neighboring Thomas Kilham Farm, buying the former property in multiple transactions between 1786 and 1792, and buying the latter in 1797. For purchase of the latter property see Essex County Deeds 162:277 (Matthew Fairfield to Thomas Kimball [Jr.] and Joseph Kimball, 1797). However, Kimball owned just one house at the time of the Massachusetts and Maine Direct Tax of 1798. "Massachusetts and Maine Direct Tax," MS (1798), 361. It's worth noting that Kimball's estate inventory of 1811 listed only one house, even though the estate still owned the sites of both houses. Furthermore, when Huldah (Porter) Kimball's widow's third was set off from the rest of the farm in 1813, it is clear that she was living in the Thomas Kilham House. Essex County Probate 15769 (Thomas Kimball [Jr.], 1811), :20-21 Widow's Dower (1813), :24 Inventory (1811).

Title History: To Phineas Fiske (ca.1600–1673), probably by grant from the town of Salem, perhaps ca.1639. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:13. Phineas Fiske identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 3:72 (John Fiske to Charles Jr. and Daniel Gott, 1665). Gap in title history. To William Fiske Jr. (1643–1728) but deed not recorded. William Fiske Jr. identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 20:56 (Thomas Fiske [Sr.] to Thomas Fiske [Jr.], 1686). Gap in title history. To William Fiske 3rd (1663–1745), perhaps ca.1695, but deed not recorded. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:20. Essex County Deeds 23:231 (William Fiske [3rd] to John Gott, 1710); 41:17 (John Gott to John [Jr.] and Samuel Gott, 1723); and 49:2 (division of property between John [Jr.] and Samuel Gott, 1724), second moiety. (The 1724 division of property was recorded in a highly detailed deed, the recorded copy of which has been badly damaged. Much of its content, unfortunately, has been lost.) Essex County Probate 11332 (John Gott [Jr.], 1761), :7 Widow's

Thirds (1765). Essex County Deeds 123:268 (Nathaniel Gott to Francis Porter, 1777); 135:87 (Elizabeth Gott to Francis Porter, 1777); 141:172 (Francis Porter to John Page, 1784); 154:134 (John Page to Thomas Kimball Jr., 1786); 154:134 (William and Eunice Young to Thomas Kimball Jr., 1791); and 154:134 (Francis Porter to Thomas Kimball Jr., 1792). Essex County Probate 15769 (Thomas Kimball [Jr.], 1811), :20-21 Widow's Dower (1813), the "Long Field." Essex County Deeds 677:79 (Clarissa Porter to Isaac Porter, 1850); 916:147 (Lydia Batchelder to Betsey B. Gage, 1874); 929:84 (Isaac [Jr.] and Julia A. Porter to Hiram L. Roberts, 1875); 1152:283 (Betsey B. and Caleb S. Gage to Hiram L. Roberts, 1885), first parcel; 1674:262 (Hiram L. and Harriet M. Roberts to Emma Weatherbee, 1902), second parcel; 2363:333 (Emma Weatherbee, notice of filing of petition, 1917), first parcel; and 2366:459 (Emma Weatherbee, notice of disposal of petition, 1917). Essex County Land Court Decree 4880, Case 6305 (Emma Weatherbee, confirmation of title, 1917); and Land Court Decree 4890 (John J. and Emma Weatherbee to B. Hammond Tracy, 1917). *Maps*: Essex County Land Court Certificate Plan 6305 (1916, 1948, 1950, 1960, 1961 and 1973). Essex County Deeds Plan 60:12 ("Plan of a Portion of Topsfield Road," 1931), sheet 4. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 128, "private way for Mr. John Gott from his land to the highway at the West End of the town." (Was this a reference to his house lot, or a reference to other land that he owned?). Ganz (2013), 179-187. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:17-22, 122, 124, 142-144, 163-164, 166; 3:28-31, 34-36, 40-41, 43, 58, 62, 67, 194-195, 205, 211-212. Corcoran (2024), 14, 27-31. Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 121, 123, 200.

78 Tarbox (1888), 30. H. Davis (1897), 38-39. Essex Institute (1904), 41, 42, 201. Essex Institute (1905–1906), 1:394, 2:476. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 3:434, 4:374. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:103-107, 110. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #52878721 and 55121980.

79 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 93. Essex Institute (1904), 226. Cole (1943), 91. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:111.

80 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 93.

81 Essex County Deeds 137:198 (John [Jr.] and Elizabeth Gott to Samuel Tarbox, 1756). H. Davis (1897), 39 (shipwright). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:51, 114. White (1900), 1:47, 88-89. Essex Institute (1904), 41, 42, 74, 125, 136, 138, 163, 201. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:147, 257-258, 270. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60732873.

For the 1737 epidemic see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 127; Henchman, MS (1737); M. O. Allen (1860), 129, 135, 179; Perley (1888), 2:1232; Caulfield (1939), 219-272, 277-335; and Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:122.

82 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44, 56, 60. Essex Institute (1904), 84; Hazard's baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904)."Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church. For Hampshire's birth in the 1740s or late 1730s see the discussion of him at page 184.

83 Hampshire appears in Lieut. Richard Dodge's account book, in which Dodge recorded transactions with his neighbors, in 1754. [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), first section, 7. The 1759 record of Caesar's death identifiers him as part of Dodge's household. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67. Essex Institute (1904), 226. It is an assumption that Dinah shared the same status of enslavement by Dodge as her two brothers and mother.

84 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

85 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 49. Town of Wenham, MS (1678–1799, 1902), 22, 28 (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frames 356, 359). Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered pages (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 193). Beverly Second Congregational Church of Christ, MS (1713–1947), 361: "November 23 Hazzard of Wenham & Judith of Beverly Negros [*sic*]." Essex County Probate 11332 (John Gott [Jr.], 1761), :18, Inventory (1762). Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:361. For Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge see Essex County Probate 7893 (Jonathan Dodge, 1756); J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:30-31; and Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:393, 2:87, 256, 257, 352.

86 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44:
[#]84. Hazzard [*sic*] Negro Man servant To John Gott
[column break]
85 May 19th Hampshire &
86 Dinai &
87 Ceasar [*sic*] Children
of Hazzard [*sic*] Negro Servant of John Gott, & of Flora, his Wife & Servant of Richard Dodge

87 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 56: [#]17 Hazzard [*sic*] Negro Servt. To John Gott / April 14." 60: [#]22. Feb: 1. Hazzard [*sic*] negro Servant of John Gott."

88 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 49: "[#]205 Septr: 23. Flora Daughter of Hazzard [*sic*] Negro Servant of John Gott & of Judith Negro Servant of John Dodge."

89 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 124: [#]28 Wharfur [*sic*] Negro Servant of ensign Tarbox. & [record for Pompey's baptism]"

90 *Title History*: To Thomas Fiske (bp. 1630–1707) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 20:56 (Thomas Fiske [Sr.] to Thomas Fiske [Jr.], 1686), no mention of house; and 41:169 (Thomas [Jr.] and Rebeckah Fiske to Thomas Tarbox, 1712), house, barn and land. Essex County Probate 27212 (Thomas Tarbox, 1774), :3 Will (1770), bequest to son Samuel Tarbox (1715–1784); and 27210 (Dea. Samuel Tarbox, 1784), :7 Will (1784), :11 Inventory (1784). Essex County Deeds 157:270 (Richard and Lydia Hood to Rebecca Moulton, 1794; and Richard and Lydia Hood to Anna Conant, 1794); 158:206 (Richard and Lydia Hood to Samuel Raymond, 1794); 159:7 (Jonathan Moulton et al. to Richard Hood, 1794); 162:254 (Anna Conant to Richard Hood, 1797); 239:98 (Richard Hood to Paul Porter, 1825); 298:195 (Josiah M. Hood et al. to Paul Porter, 1836); 529:106 (Paul Porter to John Smith and Nicholas Brown, 1856); 603:1 (John Smith et al. to George Tufts, 1860), first parcel; 603:2 (George and Catherine Tufts to Paul Porter, mortgage, 1860); 894:28 (George and Catherine Tufts to Elbridge K. Standley, 1873); 894:29 (Elbridge K. and Emeline S. Standley to George Tufts, mortgage, 1873); 894:30 (Elbridge K. and Emeline S. Standley to George Tufts, mortgage, 1873); 1299:227 (Elbridge K. and Emeline S. Standley to Bessie E. Herrick, 1891); 1426:12 (Bessie E. and George W. Herrick to George W. Wilson, 1894); 3551:491 (George W. and Minnie F. Wilson to Edmond J. Richard Jr., 1947); 5147:633 (Meridian Heights Corp. to Dan C. and Stella Marino, 1963); and 5147:631 (Bertram Glovsky, administrator, to Dan C. and Stella Marino, 1964). *Maps*: Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #37. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (1941), 1971.10.031A and 1971.10.031C. Essex County Deeds Plan 3821:229 ("Land of Wendell H. Crosby, Wenham, Mass.," 1951); 5191:429 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Dan C. Marino," 1964); and 104:99 ("Subdivision Plan, Fairfield

Development," 1965). *Other References*: Allen (1860), 138. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:67-68, 122, 124, 169-170. Corcoran (2024), 14, 32. Corcoran (2025), 18-19, 133-135, 209, 215-217.

91 Essex County Probate 27212 (Thomas Tarbox, 1774). Tarbox (1888), 30, 33. Essex Institute (1904), 78, 115, 169, 222. Essex Institute (1905–1906), 1:394. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:104, 297. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:286-287. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19387598 and 31242173. Wharfer is identified in the Wenham Congregational Church records as a member of the "Ens. Tarbox" household (Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 124). Thomas Tarbox used the Ensign title during the 1730s and adopted the Captain title sometime between 1737 and 1741; see Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 1, 4, 19, 34, 49, 51, 55, 57, 60.

92 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 60, 124. "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.

93 Housewright: Essex County Deeds 137:198 (John [Jr.] and Elizabeth Gott to Samuel Tarbox, 1756). Shops: Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 315. Pruitt (1998), 162.

94 M. O. Allen (1860, 204. Essex County Probate 27210 (Dea. Samuel Tarbox, 1784). Tarbox (1888), 39. Essex Institute (1904), 19, 78, 102, 169, 222. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:148, 285. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19387638 and 19387677. Corcoran (2025), 215-217.

95 Moulton and Moulton (1905), 27. No primary source material has been found to corroborate the Moultons' contention that Samuel Tarbox had an enslaved person in his household. However, one of the authors, Eben Hobson Moulton (1818–1894), was a great-grandson of Samuel Tarbox and therefore likely had access to oral family history. For genealogy see Moulton and Moulton (1905), 10-12. It is possible, however, that the Moultons confused Samuel Tarbox's household with Thomas Tarbox's, and were actually speaking of Wharfer. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:112.

96 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1790:690.

97 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 11:123 (Ephraim and Judith Herrick to Robert Cue, 1695). Essex County Probate 6691 (Robert Cue, 1699), :2 Will (1699); and 6692 (Robert Cue [Jr.], 1737), :47 Inventory (1737), :51-54 Division of Estate (1739). Essex County Deeds 159:52 (Caleb Kimball vs. Mary Cue, 1794), third parcel; 181:202 (Caleb [Jr.] and Mercy Kimball to Samuel Fisk[e] Jr., 1806), first parcel; 446:36 (Harriet F. Fisk to Elbridge Kimball, 1851); 926: 251 (Elbridge and Marcia A. Kimball to Calvin Putnam, 1875), first parcel; 1674:443 (Calvin Putnam to Lester E. Libby, 1902); 1677:558 (Lester E. and Georgia E. Libby to Stephen M. Weld, 1902); 1685:445 (Stephen M. Weld to John C. Phillips, 1902); 1709:44 (John C. Phillips to John L. Saltonstall, 1903); 1709:45 (John L. Saltonstall to John C. Phillips, mortgage, 1903); 1939:263 (John L. Saltonstall to John C. Phillips, 1907); 3207:595 (Eleanor H. Phillips to Pauline M. Dearborn, 1940); and 19568:328 (State Street Bank and Trust Co. and David Dearborn, executors, to Dearborn Farms LLC, 2002). *Maps*: Hales (1825), unlabeled house (site). Walling (1856), "C. Kimball" House (site), the occupant probably being owner Elbridge Kimball's brother Caleb Kimball Jr. (1802–1864). Beers (1872), 95, "E. Kimball" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "Chas. A. Heywood" House (site), the occupant being tenant Charles A. Heyward (b. ca.1844). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 34, "J. C. Phillips" property. Lillie (1976), "Mary Cue" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 362:94 ("Plan of Land in Wenham & Beverly, Mass.," 2002), lot 5. *Other Reference*: Corcoran (2024), 14, 33-38.

The "E. Kimball" House in the Walling map of 1856, the "T. H. Clark" House in the Beers map of 1872, and the "T. H. Clark" House in the Walker map of 1884 are not the

Herrick-Cue House. When this property (to the north of 36 Topsfield Road) was sold in 1808, there was no house on it. Essex County Deeds 187:123 (Samuel [Jr.] and Sally Fiske to Enos Gallop, 1808), a subdivision of the lot conveyed in 181:202 (Caleb [Jr.] and Mercy Kimball to Samuel Fisk [*sic*] Jr., 1806), one acre with no mention of buildings. *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 282:304 (Enos and Ruth Gallop to Smith Gallop, 1834), one acre with buildings; 285:15 (Smith and Hannah Gallop to Elbridge Kimball, 1835), one acre with house and barn; 826:134 (Elbridge and Marcia A. Kimball to Thomas H. Clark, 1871); 1162:300 (Thomas H. and Susan C. Clark to Marcia A. Kimball, 1885); 1163:135 (Marcia A. Kimball to Henry E. Dodge, 1885); 1252:558 (Henry E. Dodge to Perry Collier, 1889); 1281:577 (Perry and Emma F. Collier to James Mann, 1890); 1281:578 (James Mann to Michael Mann, mortgage, 1890); 1408:207 (Michael Mann to Horace W. Woodberry, 1894); 1448:392 (Horace W. and Margarett [*sic*] R. Woodberry to Dorothy A. Waitt, 1895); 1576:459 (Henry and Dorothy A. Waitt to Lester E. Libby, 1899); and 1677:558 (Lester E. and Georgia E. Libby to Stephen M. Weld, 1902). See the discussion of the Caleb Kimball House in Corcoran (2025), 18, 20, 142-143.

98 Essex County Probate 6691 (Robert Cue, 1699). Herrick (1846), 9, 306. Herrick and Herrick (1885), 27. Essex Institute (1904), 19, 189. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:97, 179, 2:79, 159.

99 Essex County Probate 6691 (Robert Cue, 1699), :3, Will (1699). Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:66, 162.

100 Essex County Probate 6692 (Robert Cue [Jr.], 1737), :47 Inventory (1737) and :34 Receipt from Samuel Tarbox Jr. (1737). Essex Institute (1904), 102, 158, 189. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:97.

101 Essex County Deeds 159:52 (Caleb Kimball vs. Mary Cue, 1794), third parcel. Porter (1878), 237; the reference to Mary's second marriage to Samuel Tarbox is a mistake, Samuel's wife being Mary Cue the daughter of Robert Jr. and Mary (Porter) Cue. Essex Institute (1904), 19, 70, 102, 158, 189. Cole (1943), 91.

102 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 40, 55, 124. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered pages (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frames 185, 193). Porter (1878), 246. Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181. Topsfield Historical Society (1905), 219, 274. "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church. Enslaver Dea. Thomas Chadwick was married to Mary Porter (b? d?), the daughter of Benjamin Porter (1692–1778) and Sarah (Tyler) Porter (1696–1767) and niece of enslaver Mary (Porter) Cue. Porter (1878), 237, 245-246.

103 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 50, 205. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 236). Essex Institute (1904), 84.

104 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 212). Perley (1902), 190. Essex Institute (1904), 180. Essex Institute (1909–1910), 2:24, 243, 330.

105 Essex Institute (1904), 202. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 225, 228-229 Spelling edited. The town clerk's record does not identify Susanna Gross' host. Most of the people who were reimbursed by the selectmen for Gross' final expenses were residents of West Wenham, which suggests that Gross' host was also a resident of West Wenham.

106 Massachusetts (Essex County), MS (1764–1777), 301.

107 The hypothesis that Mary (Cue) Porter consented to Primus living offsite begs the unanswered question: Who in Wenham was renting living space to people of color?

108 Essex County Probate 6692 (Robert Cue [Jr.], 1737), :34.

An a counte [account] of ye work that I have done
for my mother Cue a Boute [about] the house and
Barn and sider [cider] mill

May ye 20 1737 one day and one half a bote [about] the house	0—10—6 [*£ s. d.*]
and June ye 27 1737 one day and a one half ~~aboute the~~ sengleing [shingling] the Barn	0—10—6
and August ye 29 1737 then worke [work] a Boute [about] the sider mill of five days and one half	1—18—6
and Primas [*sic*] thre[e] days	0—15—0
and ~~one~~ a blocke [sic] and thre[e] sheves [*sic*]	0— 7—0
	4— 1—6

Saml Tarbox Jun

109 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 124: "[#]84 June 19 Primus negro Servant to mrs Mary Cue."

110 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 185): "A Purpose of Marriage Between Primus the man sev[t] of Mrs Mary Cue of Wenham and Flora the woman sev[t] of Dea Thomas Chaddock of Boxford was Published Jan 28: 1753[.]"

111 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 193): "Primus Boorgillar of Wenham (the man Sevt of Mrs Mary Cue) and Peggy Otum (a free woman) of Hampton falls Entered their Intention of Marriage Nov[r] 28 and were Published the 29 of said month 1759[.]"

112 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 50: [#]235. May 17. Dillah Daughter of Primus & Peggy Boorgillar. Negro[es?]." 205: [#320] Phebe [*sic*] Daughter of Primus & Peggy Boorgiller. Negro."

113 Massachusetts (Essex County), MS (1764–1777), 301. Notice that the record does not include Primus' surname of Boorgillar.

The Warrants for warning the several Persons from the Towns following were filed vizt.

Jesse Watts– & Abigail Clough	from Bradford
Samuel Smith or Lull	from Amesbury
Isachar [*sic*] Currier & his Wife Rebecca and Children John David and Abigail	from Salisbury
Job Galloway and Elizabeth his Wife and Children Elizabeth, Mary, Martha Judith Lydia Abigail Job.	from Salisbury
Primus a Negro Man Servant of Mary Cue of Wenham	discharged by Proclamation
Peg a free Negro Woman of Wenham	discharged by Proclamation

CENTER OF TOWN

PICTURING Main Street in the mid-eighteenth century, when Wenham's enslaved population was its largest, is like looking at a boyhood picture of an elderly man. Some features are still very recognizable, but many have changed. There were fewer houses then and a lot more barns. Most houses had a privy and a well in their yard. The cemetery was half the size it is today. The meeting house was near today's Congregational Church, but parallel to the road. An inn stood two doors down, where Monument Street intersects Main Street. There was no Town Hall, a very shallow pond and a militia practice field in its place. A blacksmith shop was nearby. A pound held wayward livestock awaiting retrieval from their farmer-owners. In the distance but viewable from the road: fewer trees … a brick kiln in the field where Enon Village is today … a windmill with enormous sails on the hill east of Main Street.

One couldn't go very far without coming to the workplace of an enslaved person. Eleven houses have been identified in the center of town that were their workplace-residences, three of which—the Porter-Fairfield House, the Henry Hobbs House and the Robert Symonds House—are still standing. Eighteen enslavers owned or occupied these houses, and 35 enslaved members of their households have been identified. Dozens of enslaved people worshiped at Wenham Congregational Church, although in segregated seating. And, finally, the center of town was the site of the White's Mill Complex where a number of enslaved people likely worked.

1. Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) House
2. Rev. Hugh Peter Monument
3. Porter-Fairfield House
4. Goodridge-Kimball House
5. Kemp-Newman-Porter House
6. Henry Hobbs House
7. Third & Fourth Meeting House
8. Robert Symonds House
9. William Davison House
10. Thomas Brown Jr. House
11. First John Kilham House
12. Smith-Fairfield House site
13. White's Mill Complex
14. White-Dodge-Pingree House

● Surviving house or monument
○ Former site, high conviction
□ Former site, medium conviction
◇ Former site unknown

Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. Most sites are on private property.

1. **The Capt. John Dodge** (1636–1723) **House, Formerly Near 26-34 Main Street**
    - *Residence of an anonymous enslaved child in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household by 1758*
    - *Residence of Judith in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household by 1759*
    - *Residence of Flora in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household by 1759*
    - *Residence of Primus in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household by 1777*

This property was owned by multiple John Dodges during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1710 Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) gave a house and 33-acre lot here to his grandson John Dodge 3rd (1694–after 1757). The property was bounded by Main Street to the west, Alewife Brook (the stream that once exited Wenham Lake, now swamp) to the north, Miles River to the east, and land of Freeborn Balch to the south. Later it was owned by John Dodge (1717–1779), his son Lieut./Dea. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825) and grandson John "Pond John" Dodge 3rd (1770–1849). The house was gone by the 1870s and another house was built near its site that is no longer standing.[114]

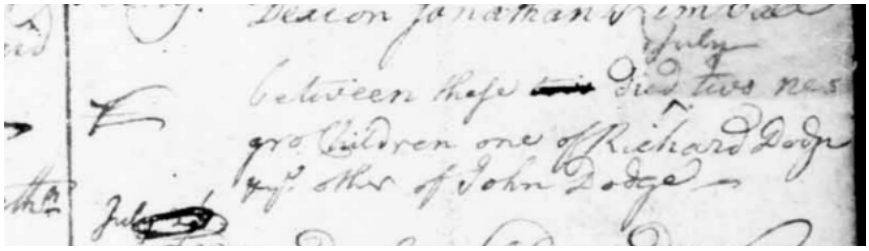
John Dodge (1717–1779) married Hannah Fowler (ca.1719–1807) in 1741. They had seven children, one of whom did not survive to adulthood. In the 1759 deed recording the purchase of his farm he was called a "yeoman"—which, because it's not a title for a particular trade—means he was a farmer.[115]

At least four enslaved people were part of the John Dodge (1717–1779) household.

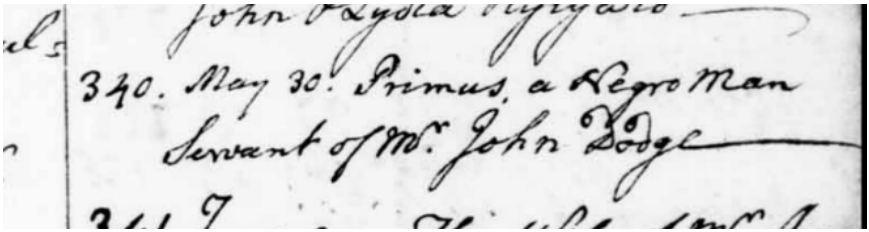
- An anonymous enslaved child (gender and age not recorded) died while part of the Dodge household in 1758. The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents.[116] It is possible that Primus discussed below was the child's father, but Judith (also discussed below) wasn't the child's mother. This raises the likelihood that there was an unrecorded enslaved woman in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household by 1758.[117]

The Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) House. This image was painted from memory by Sally (Dodge) Spalding (1813–1924) on a papier-mâché plate that was photographed in 1893. Wenham Lake is in the foreground.[118]

- Judith had been enslaved by Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge (bp. 1680) in Beverly as late as 1758, and was transferred to Jerusha's son John Dodge (1717–1779) by 1759. Jerusha was widowed in 1756 and may have moved in with her son John in late 1758 or early 1759, bringing Judith with her. Or it could be that Jerusha and Judith remained in Beverly until Jerusha died (the date of Jerusha's death not having been recorded), and John inherited Judith. We met Judith in the previous chapter: she married Hazard (John Gott Jr. household, discussed on pages 34-36) in 1758 in Beverly. Theirs was an example of a marriage of enslaved people from different households who remained in different households, Hazard living on the Gott farm until at least 1762.[119]
- Judith and Hazard had a daughter Flora who was baptized in Wenham in 1759.[120] Flora's birth wasn't recorded, and therefore we don't know whether she was born in Beverly or Wenham. Although "Flora" is a name that was used by other members of Wenham's enslaved community, none of the other women identified who share this name was the same woman as Judith and Hazard's daughter.[121]
- An enslaved man named Primus died in 1777 while part of the Dodge household.[122] His death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, which indicates he worshiped there. He likely worked on Dodge's farm (Dodge himself being 60 years old), probably working alongside Dodge's son Lieut./Dea. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825) who would inherit the farm in 1779.



Record of the deaths of two anonymous enslaved children in the Lieut. Richard Dodge and John Dodge households, 1758.[123]



Record of Primus' death, 1777.[124]

2. The Rev. Hugh Peter Monument, Main Street at Wenham Lake

Wenham was originally part of the town of Salem. To encourage settlement Salem began granting land here in 1636,[125] and a handful of families quickly made their homes on these grants. Rev. Hugh Peter (bp. 1598–1660), a minister living in Salem, preached a sermon to them probably in the year 1638, the first sermon preached in Wenham.[126] A monument at Wenham Lake commemorates the spot where he gave that sermon.

Rev. Peter had significant influence on both sides of the Atlantic, and his biography is too extensive to include here. But one detail that is often overlooked is that—when the colonists were at war with the Pequot people of Connecticut—he tried to secure some Pequot prisoners as enslaved workers. In 1637 he wrote to Gov. John Winthrop (1588–1649):

> We have heard of a dividence [division] of [Pequot] women and children … and would be glad of a share, viz: a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good. I wrote to you for some boys for Bermuda which I think is considerable [worth considering].

One of the Pequot captives was brought back to Salem: Rev. Peter had an enslaved Indigenous woman in his household with the English name Hope, who tried to run away in 1639. Accused of being drunk, Hope was whipped for the dual crimes of drunkenness and attempted escape.[127]

3. The Porter-Fairfield House, 79 Main Street

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved child in the Dr. William Fairfield household by 1769*
- *Residence of Jane in the Dr. William Fairfield household by 1772*
- *Residence of London in the Dr. William Fairfield household by 1778*

The Porter family built a house on this site by 1754. It was expanded or replaced in 1765 by Dr. William Fairfield, who hired housewright Nathaniel Bragg (1701–1790) for the project. Bragg recorded in his account book that he felled timber for the house's frame in March of 1765.[128]

Dr. William Fairfield (1732–1773) married Sarah White (ca.1733–1814) in 1755; they had six children together. In 1758, during the French and Indian War, he served as surgeon for Col. Joseph Williams' Regiment and was at Crown Point, New York. He died of smallpox in Salem in 1773 and his

THIS STONE MARKS THE SITE OF
PETER HILL
ON WHICH ABOUT THE YEAR 1638
REVEREND HUGH PETER
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN SALEM
PREACHED THE FIRST SERMON IN
WENHAM
TEXT FROM JOHN III 23
IN ENON NEAR TO SALIM BECAUSE THERE WAS MUCH WATER THERE
THUS EARLY IN THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN
WAS THE GOSPEL PROCLAIMED
ERECTED BY THE TOWN
1906

Rev. Hugh Peter Monument, Main Street at Wenham Lake. Rev. Peter had an enslaved Indigenous woman named Hope in his household. The monument marks the spot where Rev. Peter preached a sermon at the time of the settling of Wenham.[129]

widow Sarah continued to live in the Porter-Fairfield House.[130] An anecdote about Widow Fairfield survives, capturing an incident that happened shortly before the start of the Revolution:

> Some British troops were marching across the country[side], and their uniforms were suddenly discovered, as they ascended the little eminence by the burial-ground. The others present proposed to flee. "Not a step," cried Mrs. Fairfield, "give me a spit, and I'll pepper one of the villains." Armed with this rude weapon, she stood her ground manfully, but the soldiers passed on their way without turning aside to molest her.[131]

There were at least three enslaved people in the Fairfield household.

- An anonymous enslaved child (gender and age not recorded) died in 1769. The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents.
- Jane, an enslaved "handmaid," died in 1772. Her death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, which indicates she worshiped there. It is possible that she was the mother of the child who died three years earlier.
- London, an enslaved man, died in 1778. His death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, indicating he also worshiped there.[132] He likely worked the Fairfield farm and (unless Widow Fairfield had hired help or other unrecorded enslaved workers) must have had his hands full, since Sarah didn't have any adult sons in her household at that time to share the workload.[133] One wonders whether London partnered with Jane and fathered the child who died in 1769.

The Porter-Fairfield House, photographed in 1893.[134]

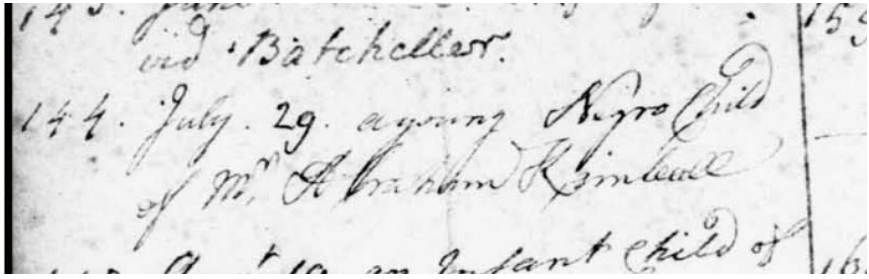
Records of the deaths of the enslaved child in Dr. William Fairfield's household (1769), Jane (1772) and London (1778).[135]

4. The Goodridge-Kimball House, Formerly at 130 Main Street

- *Likely residence of an anonymous enslaved child in the Abraham Kimball household by 1764*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved infant in the Ebenezer Kimball household by 1772*

The existing house at 130 Main Street was built in the mid-nineteenth century by Daniel Bradbury (1821–1910). It replaced a house that had been built by 1761, perhaps by Samuel Goodridge (1719–1776), that was the homestead of father and son enslavers Abraham and Ebenezer Kimball.[136]

Abraham Kimball (1702–1772) and Elizabeth Houlton (1712?–after 1772) married in 1729. Over the next 26 years they had eleven children. He was a farmer and cultivated land in West Wenham.[137] In 1763 Abraham sold his house on Main Street to his son Ebenezer. Abraham didn't record the purchase of a subsequent homestead, and it appears that he continued to live in the Main Street house with Ebenezer's family.[138] In 1764 an anonymous enslaved child (gender and age not recorded) died while part of Abraham's household.[139] The fact that it was a child and not an adult raises the possibility that there was at an enslaved woman in the Abraham Kimball household who has gone unrecorded. The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents.



Record of the death of the enslaved child in Abraham Kimball's household, 1764.[140]

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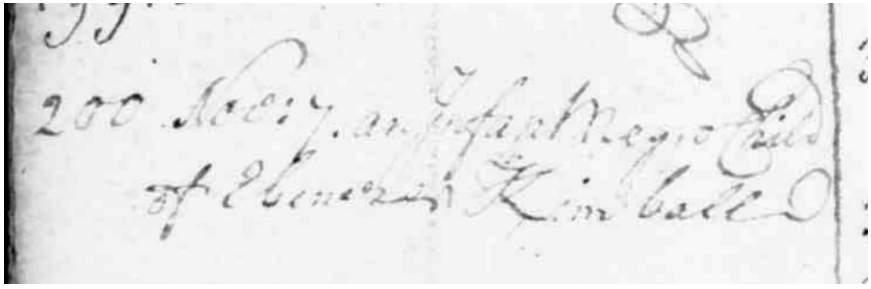
Abraham Kimball's son Ebenezer Kimball (1740–1821) was married twice: to Ruth (Waldren) Woodbury (1732–1764) in 1762, and to Elizabeth Fuller (1734–1822) in 1765. Ebenezer and Ruth had one child together; Ebenezer and Elizabeth had seven. He was a joiner, i.e., a carpenter who specialized in finish work.[141] In 1772 an anonymous enslaved infant (gender and age not recorded) died while part of Ebenezer's household. The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents. He or she died just five days before Abraham Kimball died, which makes one wonder whether they both died of the same illness (and, indeed, supports the hypothesis that Abraham was part of his son's household in his later years).[142]



Record of the death of the enslaved infant in Ebenezer Kimball's household, 1772.[143]

5. The Kemp-Newman-Porter House, Formerly Near 1 Monument Street

- *Residence of Scipio Black in the Jonathan and Lydia (Tyler) Porter households by 1748 and through 1765*
- *Residence of Sarah Black in the Jonathan Porter, Lydia (Tyler) Porter and Dr. Tyler Porter households by 1748 and through 1783*

- *Residence of Scipio and Sarah's son Caesar in the Jonathan Porter household in 1749*
- *Residence of Scipio and Sarah's son Pompey Porter in the Jonathan Porter, Lydia (Tyler) Porter and Dr. Tyler Porter households from 1752 through 1833*
- *Residence of Scipio and Sarah's daughter Nancy (1st) in the Jonathan Porter household from 1755 through 1757*
- *Residence of Scipio and Sarah's son Peter in the Jonathan Porter household in 1759*
- *Residence of Scipio and Sarah's daughter Nancy (2nd) in the Lydia (Tyler) Porter and Dr. Tyler Porter households from 1760 through 1765*
- *Residence of Scipio Lummus in the Dr. Tyler Porter household from 1775 through 1779*

Edward Kemp (d. 1668) had built a house on this site by 1658, selling it that year to Rev. Antipas Newman (1627–1672). The Porter family bought the property in 1703 and ran an inn here during the middle of the eighteenth century. The house (or an eighteenth century replacement built on its site) stood until at least the 1890s but was gone by 1910.[144]

Jonathan Porter (1696–1759), innkeeper, married Lydia Tyler (bp. 1703–1785), the intention of their marriage published in 1724. They had seven children.[145] Widow Lydia owned the property briefly while Jonathan's estate was settled. Their son Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811) subsequently inherited the house. He married Dorcas Emerson (1740–1821) in 1760, and they had four children.[146] Jonathan Porter, his widow Lydia, and Dr. Tyler Porter all had enslaved members of their respective households.

Scipio Black and Sarah Black were enslaved by Jonathan Porter by 1748 and married that year. They had five children:

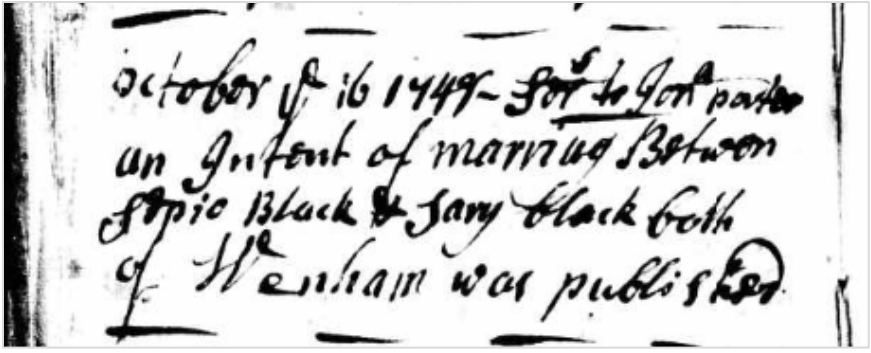
- Caesar, born in 1749
- Pompey, born and baptized in 1752, who died in 1833
- Nancy, born and baptized in 1755, who died in 1757
- Peter, born, baptized and died in 1759, and
- Nancy 2nd, born and baptized in 1760, who died in Topsfield in 1825.

In addition to gender-based expectations for work assignments (heavy farm work for men and able-bodied boys vs. house work and light farm work for women and girls), everyone in the Black family who wasn't a young child

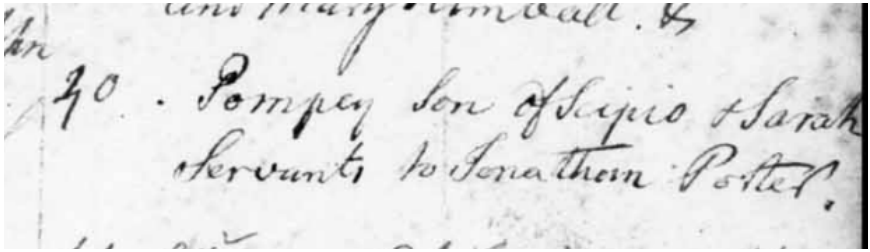
The Kemp-Newman-Porter House, photographed in 1893.[147]

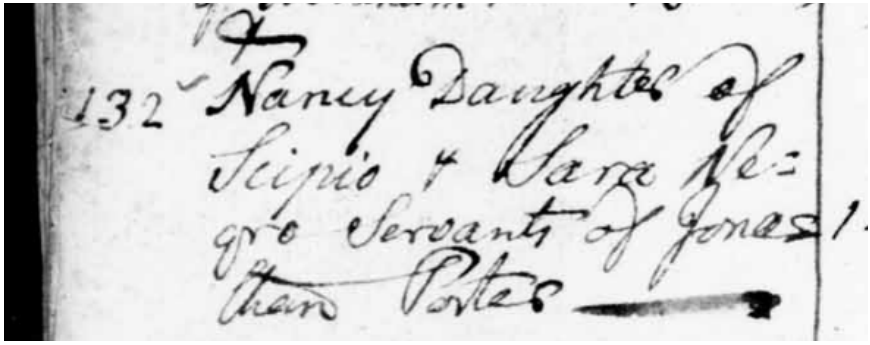
probably had a role in running the Porter family's inn. Scipio and Sarah worshiped at the Wenham Congregational Church. He was baptized and owned the covenant in 1757. Their children's baptisms and deaths, and Scipio and Sarah's deaths were recorded by the church.[148]

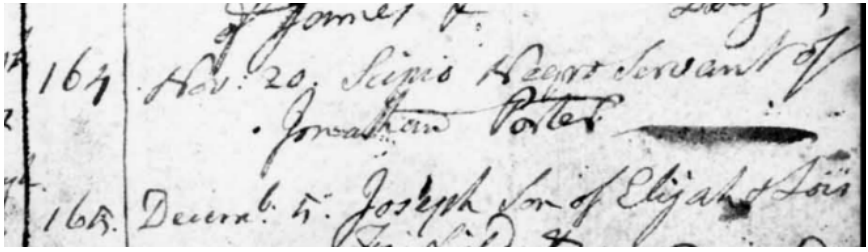
When Jonathan Porter's estate inventory was made in 1760, two "old" and two "young" anonymous enslaved people were included—corresponding to Scipio, Sarah, Caesar and Pompey (daughter Nancy 2nd not yet having been born). Porter bequeathed Scipio and Sarah to his widow Lydia (Tyler) Porter. Scipio died in 1765 (the record of his death identifying Lydia Porter as his enslaver) and Sarah died in 1783 (the record of her death identifying Dr. Tyler Porter as her enslaver even though Lydia Porter was still living).[149]


October ye 16 1749 – Sor to Jon[a] Porter
an Intent of marriag Betwen
Scipio Black & Sary Black both
of Wenham was publish[ed]

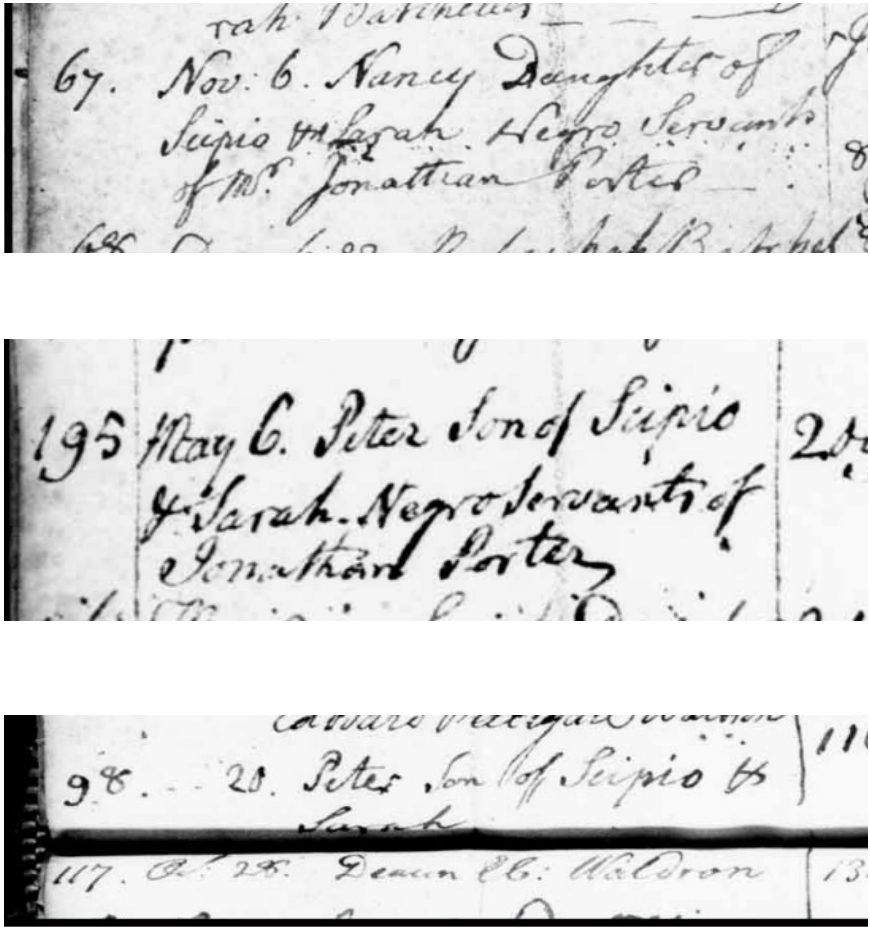
Town clerk's record of the intention of marriage of Scipio Black and Sarah Black, 1748.[150]



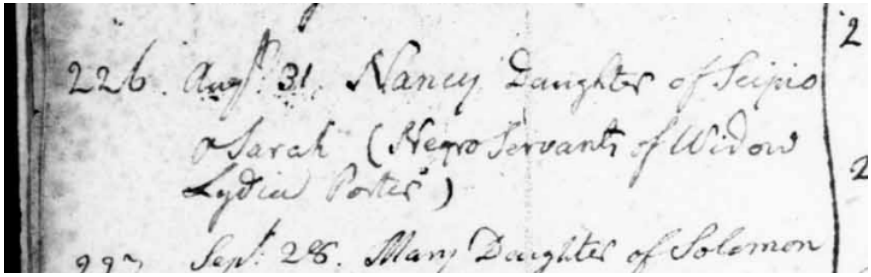


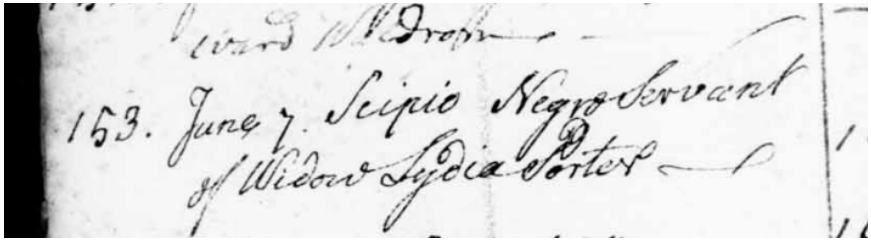


Records of Pompey's (1753), Nancy's (1755) and Scipio's (1757) baptisms.[151]


67. Nov: 6. Nancy Daughter of
Scipio & Sarah Negro Servants
of Mr. Jonathan Porter
195 May 6. Peter Son of Scipio
& Sarah. Negro Servants of
Jonathan Porter
98. 28. Peters Son of Scipio &
117. Oct. 28. Deacon Caleb Waldron

Records of Nancy's death (1757) and Peter's baptism and death (1759).[152]


226. Aug.st 31. Nancy Daughter of Scipio
& Sarah (Negro Servants of Widow
Lydia Porter)
Sept. 28. Mary Daughter of Solomon


153. June 7. Scipio Negro Servant
of Widow Lydia Porter

Records of Nancy 2nd's baptism and Scipio's death, 1760 and 1765.[153]

Lieut. Thomas Emerson (1735–1813) and Lydia (Porter) Emerson (1741–1825) of Topsfield.[154] Thomas Emerson was the older brother of Dorcas (Emerson) Porter, Dr. Tyler Porter's wife. Lydia (Porter) Emerson was a younger sister of Dr. Tyler Porter. At just five years old, in 1765 Nancy 2nd (1760–1825) was transferred from the Porter household in Wenham to the Emerson household in Topsfield as a wedding present for the Emersons.

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Dr. Tyler Porter, the next owner of the Kemp-Newman-Porter House, inherited both Scipio Black (d. 1765), Sarah Black (d. 1783) and their children Caesar (b. 1749) and Pompey (1752–1833) when his father Jonathan's estate was settled. The Blacks had another child, daughter Nancy 2nd (1760–1825), who was born a few months after Jonathan Porter's estate inventory was made while Jonathan's widow Lydia was settling the estate. In addition to members of the Black family, Porter had another enslaved man named Scipio Lummus in his household from 1775 through 1779.[155]

Caesar's disposition has not been determined. His was not an uncommon name among enslaved people, and no specific information has been found that places him in a subsequent enslaver's household. Nonetheless, it's possible that he was the man by the same name who was part of the Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766) household in 1766, discussed on page 101.

At just five years old, Nancy 2nd was transferred in 1765 to the household of Lieut. Thomas (1735–1813) and Lydia (Porter) Emerson (1741–1825) of Topsfield as a wedding gift. Lieut. Thomas was the older brother of Dorcas (Emerson) Porter, Dr. Tyler's wife. Lydia (Porter) Emerson was a younger sister of Dr. Tyler Porter. Nancy lived the rest of her life in Topsfield, using the surname Porter, where she had two daughters (the father(s) not identified). Reliant on town financial support that began in 1798, she died a pauper in the Topsfield almshouse in 1825.[156]

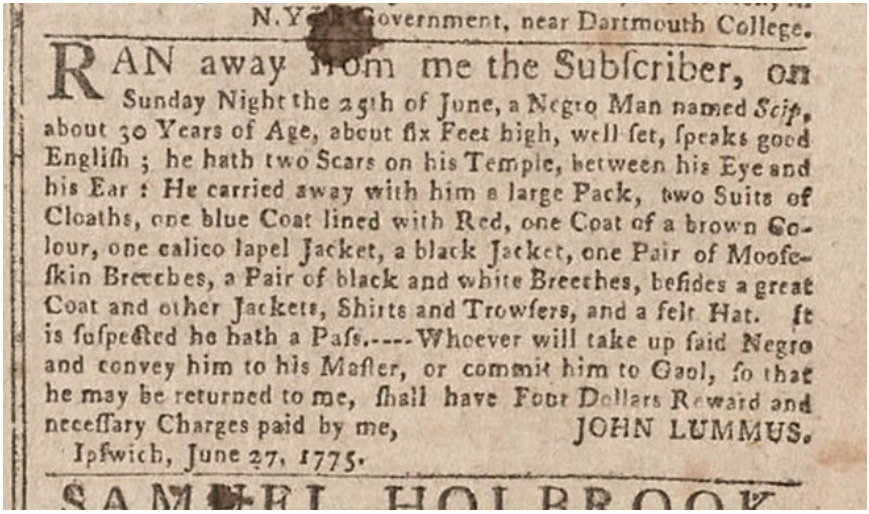
Pompey may have used the surname Black earlier in life, but at some point adopted the surname Porter.[157] He knew how to play the fiddle and a poem written by Allen Peabody (1816–1890) mentions Pompey playing music in one of the town's taverns. A transcription of the poem appears in Appendix C.[158] In 1778 Pompey was hired as the sexton of the Wenham Congregational Church. When informed that he was entitled to his freedom and was at liberty to go when and where he pleased, he is said to have replied quite indignantly, "I will not go a step: I have worked hard to help earn this property, and I am determined to remain and help spend it."[159]

Indeed, he continued to live with the Porter family until he died in 1833. He was included in the Dr. Tyler Porter household in the 1790, 1800 and 1810 Federal censuses as a free person of color.[160] Yet, when Tyler Porter wrote his will in 1811, he bequeathed Pompey to Porter's wife … as if Pompey had continued to be Porter's property.[161] His case was an example of

what one scholar calls "unfreedom"[162]—Pompey was legally a free person but wasn't always thought of as such by others. Pompey is absent from the 1820 and 1830 Federal censuses.[163] We know, however, that he was living in Wenham during this period because he received financial support from the town in 1822 through 1833.[164]

Scipio Lummus was born in Africa in the late 1720s or 1730s, was abducted at age 7, and was brought to Salem where he was sold to Samuel Lummus Jr. (1690–1754) of Ipswich. He was inherited by Lummus's son John (1722–1785) and lived and worked on John Lummus' farm in the part of town that would become Hamilton. In 1775 Scipio ran away to join the fight against the British, but he fought only briefly before being "reclaimed" by Lummus.[165] A newspaper advertisement at the time (seeking Scipio's return) described him as almost 6 feet tall, "well set" (what we might say today as "well built"), with two scars between his eye and ear, and noted that he spoke "good English."[166] In John Lummus's eyes, Scipio the onetime runaway was a problem—so Lummus approached his wife's cousin Dr. Tyler Porter and suggested that Porter buy Scipio. Porter declined a purchase but proposed an exchange of Scipio for Pompey, on the condition that the exchange would be rescinded if Pompey were to become unhappy in the Lummus household. (Pompey, after all, had lived his whole life in the Porter household.) Scipio was transferred to the Porter household, while Pompey was transferred to the Lummus household.[167]

In 1777, after living in the Porter household for about two years, Scipio again enlisted in the army under the name Scipio Freeman, Scipio having been manumitted by Dr. Porter.[168] He served about two years—using the name Scipio Porter as well as the name Scipio Lummus—and returned to the Porter household in 1779, nearly blind.[169] Pompey, meanwhile, hadn't been happy in the Lummus household: Pompey was returned to Dr. Porter and Scipio was returned to John Lummus. In 1780 Scipio married Rose (who has yet to be identified). Their economic situation deteriorated, his poor eyesight probably hurting his ability to find work in the post-war economy, and he and Rose lived in Hamilton as town paupers. Both were living there as late as 1808.[170]



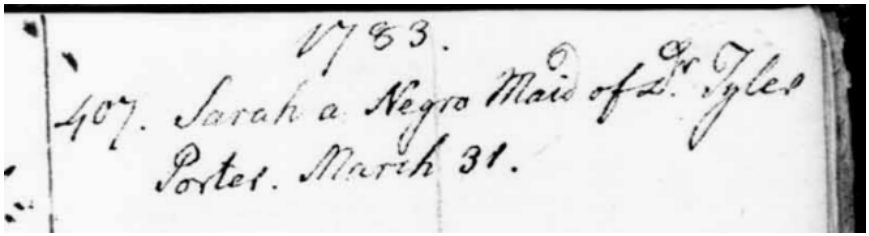
N.Y[illegible] Government, near Dartmouth College.

RAN away from me the Subſcriber, on Sunday Night the 25th of June, a Negro Man named *Scip*, about 30 Years of Age, about ſix Feet high, well ſet, ſpeaks good Engliſh; he hath two Scars on his Temple, between his Eye and his Ear: He carried away with him a large Pack, two Suits of Cloaths, one blue Coat lined with Red, one Coat of a brown Colour, one calico lapel Jacket, a black Jacket, one Pair of Mooſeſkin Breeches, a Pair of black and white Breeches, beſides a great Coat and other Jackets, Shirts and Trowſers, and a felt Hat. It is ſuſpected he hath a Paſs.----Whoever will take up ſaid Negro and convey him to his Maſter, or commit him to Gaol, ſo that he may be returned to me, ſhall have Four Dollars Reward and neceſſary Charges paid by me, JOHN LUMMUS.

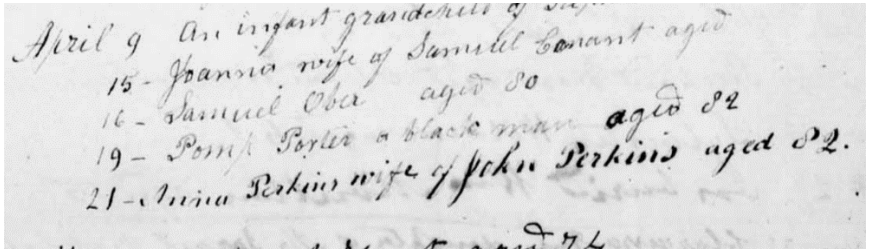
Ipſwich, June 27, 1775.

SAMUEL HOLBROOK

Advertisement by John Lummus of Ipswich (Hamilton), seeking the runaway Scipio Lummus, 1775.[171]


1783.
407. Sarah a Negro Maid of Dr. Ives
Porter. March 31.

Record of Sarah's death, 1783.[172]


April 9 An infant granddaughter of
15 - Joanna wife of Samuel Conant aged
16 - Samuel Oba aged 80
19 - Pomp Porter a black man aged 82
21 - Anna Perkins wife of John Perkins aged 82.

Record of "Pomp" Porter's death, 1833.[173]

Pompey Porter's Last Wish

According to a history of the town written in 1860, Pompey Porter expressed the wish not long before his death "that his body might be disinterred after its decay, and the skeleton being wired together, might be suspended in that part of the attic in which he used to sleep, for the observation of future generations."[174]

Maybe Pompey was making a joke. Or, instead, maybe Pompey was expressing an aspect of his spiritual belief system. Rather than posing his skeleton so that future generations could observe *it*, maybe Pompey meant that putting his skeleton in the attic would allow *him* to observe future generations after his death.

Pompey's request wasn't entirely unique. Aaron, an enslaved man in the Morton household in Middleboro, made the request that he be buried near his enslaver's house so that Aaron *could hear the children's voices when they were playing.*[175] Pompey's request certainly seems more menacing than Aaron's, thanks to the part about the skeleton. Yet both appear to echo an aspect of religion practiced by various peoples of West Africa—where burial beneath the living quarters of the deceased was once common.[176]

The fact that Pompey was born in Wenham, not in Africa, adds another layer to the story: it hints at the transfer of aspects of African culture to New England-born enslaved people while the African diaspora was still underway.

6. The Henry Hobbs House, 135 Main Street

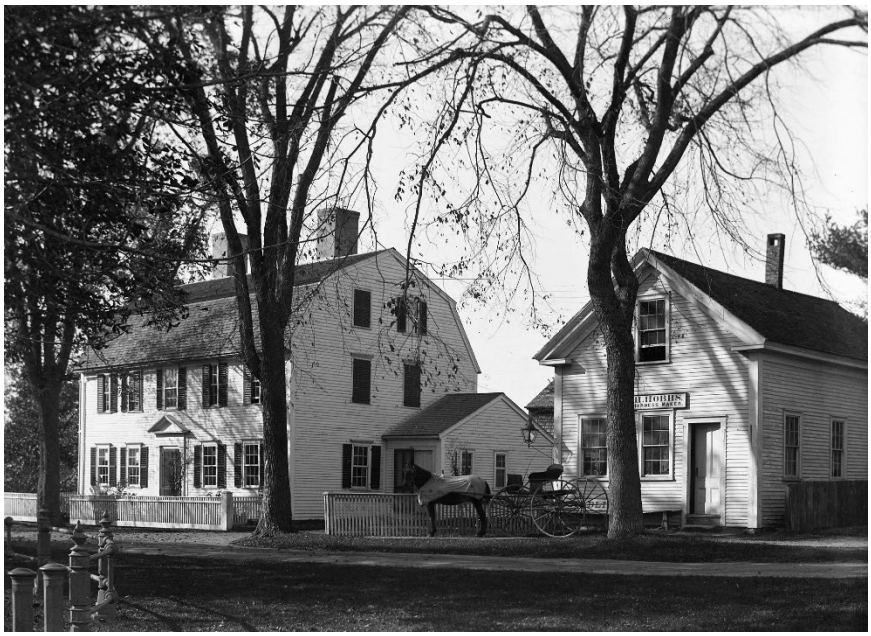
- *Residence of Sampson Brown in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household by 1771 and through 1777*
- *Residence of Abner Brown in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household by 1771 and through at least 1778*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved girl in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household by 1771 and through at least 1778*
- *Residence of Lazarus in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household by 1776*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved infant in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household in 1777*

The oldest part of the Henry Hobbs House is thought to date to the late seventeenth century, although its current appearance reflects a renovation done in the mid-eighteenth century.[177] Enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) lived here from 1767 to 1778 and his widow Anne continued to live here until 1781. Nathaniel, a lawyer, married Anne Porter (1719–1781) in 1738. They did not have biological children but did have an adopted son.[178] Both natives of Wenham, they lived for a time in Salem. They moved back to Wenham about the year 1754 and lived in the John Solart House at 106 Main Street before moving into the Hobbs House.[179]

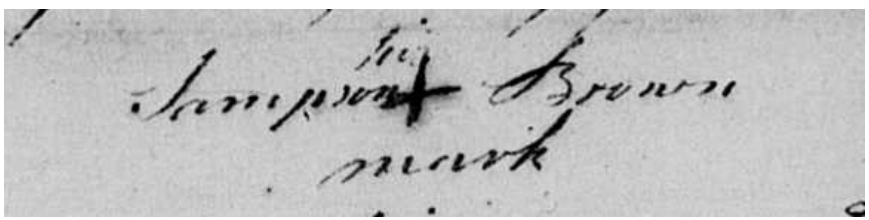
Brown enjoyed a certain level of affluence, owning not only one of the largest houses in town but also a considerable amount of real estate. And he enjoyed nice things: he and his wife had their portraits painted—which was rare for Wenham at this time.[180] But he was hardly a popular man with his neighbors. Brown was a Tory at the time of the Revolution. Wenham historian Adeline Cole, interviewing a subsequent owner of the Hobbs House, wrote in the 1940s:

> From the story of Miss Hobbs we learn that the "Marblehead people came over to tar and feather him, bringing their kettle of tar with them, but he got wind of this and disappeared." This man, as far as we know, was the only avowed loyalist in Wenham at the opening of the Revolution, though the spirit of the whole town had been loyal to the mother country until the first armed resistance.[181]

A newspaper story from 1774 describes the incident, although the story is clearly written from the perspective of Brown's aggrieved neighbors. A copy appears in Appendix D. Despite the bias that runs throughout the news-



The Henry Hobbs House, photographed in 1893.[182]



Sampson Brown's signature, 1779.[183] This is the oldest signature found so far of a member of Wenham's enslaved community.

paper account, it's difficult to imagine Brown as someone other than a rich Tory who didn't want to see any change to the social and political order of the day.

Three anonymous enslaved people (genders not recorded) were part of the Brown household in 1771.[184] They were probably the same three who were identified three years later when Nathaniel wrote his will in 1774: he bequeathed Sampson to his nephew Thomas Brown Jr., Abner to his "kinsman" Nathaniel Brown Jr. of Charlton, and an anonymous enslaved "maid servant" to his widow Anne. The bequests came with the provision that "neither of said servants [were] ever to be sold." Brown later added a codicil to his will in which he manumitted Abner upon the event of widow Anne Brown's remarriage or death. Abner and the anonymous girl were still part of the Brown household when Nathaniel's estate inventory was made in 1778, but Sampson was not.[185]

Sampson (who apparently ran away in order to fight the British) was wounded by a cannonball and spent the winter at Valley Forge.

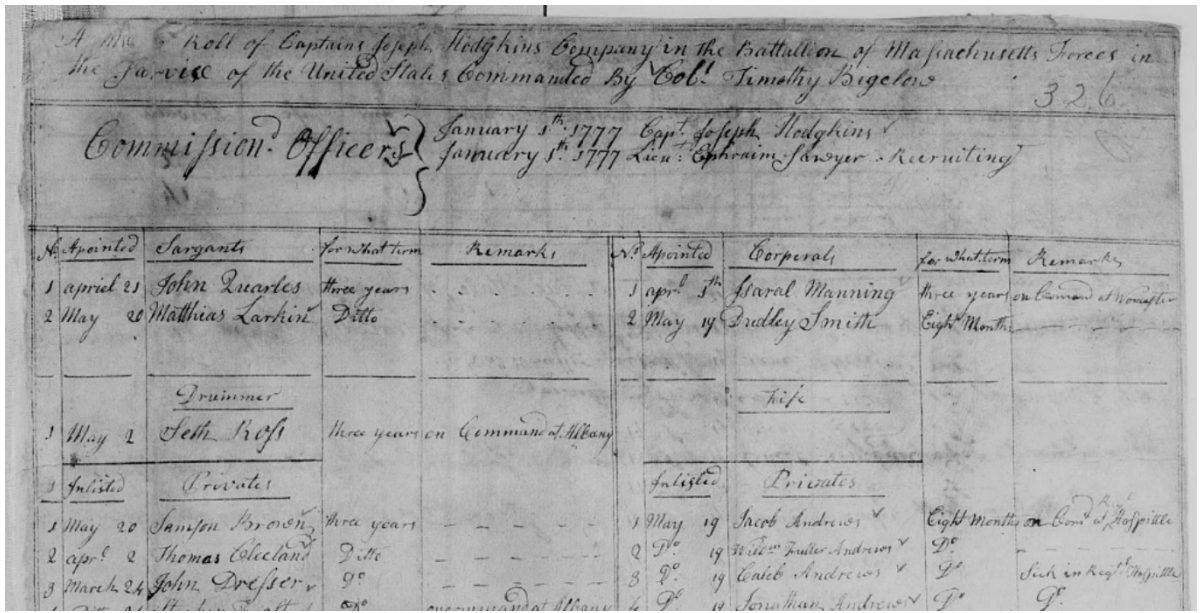
Sampson was of both African and European descent.[186] He may have been the man by the same name who in 1777 announced his intention to marry an otherwise-unidentified woman named Patience, discussed on page 249.[187] (The announcement of their engagement did not identify their enslavers. Might Patience have been the "maid servant" that Brown bequeathed to Brown's wife?) The same year (1777) Sampson enlisted (at Manchester) in the colonial army to fight the British. Given Nathaniel's Tory politics, it is inconceivable that Brown acquiesced to Sampson's enlistment —which evidently means that Sampson ran away to enlist. (It is unexplained, though, why he ran away to Manchester when he might have been less conspicuous in Salem.) Sampson's unit fought General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, where in September 1777 he was wounded in the hip by a cannonball. Sampson convalesced at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777–1778. Unable to continue fighting, he was transferred into a company of "invalid" soldiers stationed in Boston for March 1779 through his discharge in May 1780.[188] There's no evidence that Sampson returned to Wenham. He seems to have been the Sampson Brown who was living in the Boston almshouse in 1787 and 1788, and was living in Boston in 1790 as the head of a three-

person household.[189] In 1792 Sampson was granted a pension for his service during the Revolutionary War, and he was living in Boston at that time.[190]

Abner, who was manumitted in Brown's will, could have been the same Abner (bp. 1752) who was in the Josiah White (1703–1761) household (page 110) by 1761.[191] He is one of only a handful of members of Wenham's enslaved community who can be found in the historical record *after* their period of enslavement. In 1790, having by then adopted the surname Brown, he and 159 other people of color were "warned out" of Salem.[192] Warning-out was a practice used since the very beginning of the colonial period that managed a town's risk of having to provide financial support to low-income or otherwise unwelcome residents. When someone was warned out, the town constable evicted that person from the given town. It hasn't been determined where Abner relocated.

There were two other enslaved people in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household, neither of whom is named in Brown's will and both of whom died before Brown's estate inventory was made.

- Lazarus died in 1776. His death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, indicating that he worshiped there. He was identified as an "Indian," which was a term used to refer to people who were indigenous to New England as well as people who were indigenous to the Caribbean.[193]
- In 1777 an anonymous enslaved infant (gender not recorded) died while part of the Brown household, the death being recorded by the church.[194] The record does not identify the child's parents. Perhaps the infant's mother was the "maid servant" in Brown's 1778 inventory. Otherwise, the presence of an infant raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman (the infant's mother) in the household who has gone unrecorded.



A Muster Roll of Captain Joseph Hodgkins Company in the Battallion of Massachusetts Forces in the Service of the United States Commanded By Col.o Timothy Bigelow

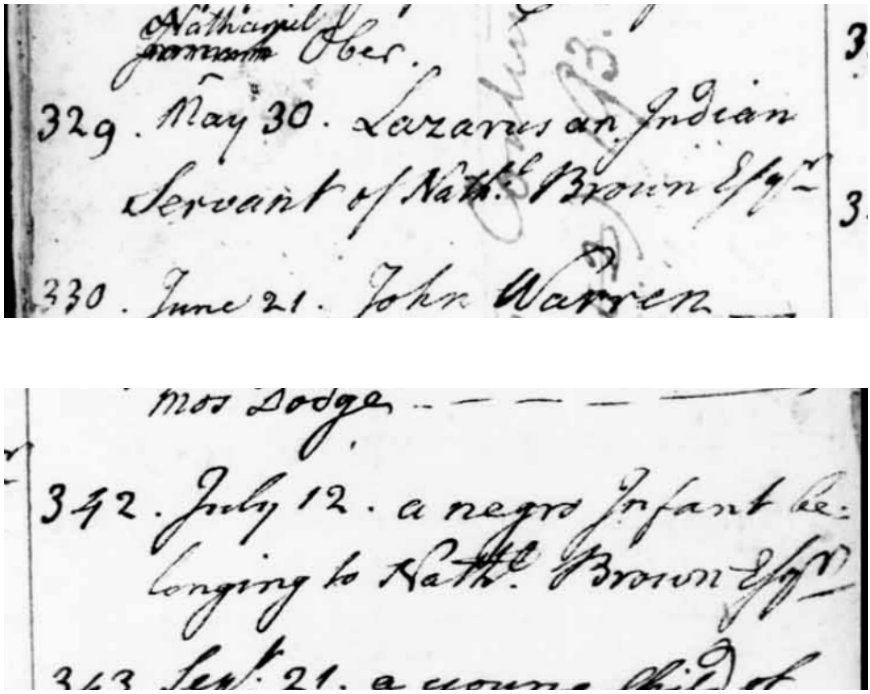
32.6

Commission Officers: January 1st 1777 Capt. Joseph Hodgkins ✓
January 1st 1777 Lieu.t Ephraim Sawyer Recruiting

No.	Apointed	Sargants	For what Term	Remarks
1	apriel 21	John Quarles	three years	
2	May 20	Matthias Larkin	Ditto	
		Drummer		
1	May 2	Seth Rose	three years	on Command at Albany
		Privates		
1	May 20	Sampson Brown ✓	three years	
2	apr.l 2	Thomas Cleeland ✓	Ditto	
3	March 24	John Dresser ✓	D.o	

No.	Apointed	Corporals	For what Term	Remarks
1	apr.l 5th	Staral Manning	three years	on Command at Worcester
2	May 19	Dudley Smith	Eight Months	
		Fife		
		Privates		
1	May 19	Jacob Andrews ✓	Eight Months	on Com.d at Hospitle
2	D.o 19	Willm Fuller Andrews ✓	D.o	
3	D.o 19	Caleb Andrews ✓	D.o	Sick in Regt.l Hospitle
4	D.o 19	Jonathan Andrews ✓	D.o	D.o

Muster roll for Capt. Joseph Hodgkins' Company, Halfmoon, New York, September 1777, shortly before the company was moved to winter quarters at Valley Forge. Sampson Brown appears in the third column from the left, the first name in the list of privates.[195]


329. May 30. Lazarus an Indian
Servant of Nath.l Brown Esq.r
330. June 21. John Warren
342. July 12. a negro Infant be-
longing to Nath.l Brown Esq.r

Records of the deaths of Lazarus and an anonymous infant in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household, 1776 and 1777.[196]

7. **First Congregational Church, Third & Fourth Meeting House Site, Formerly Near 135 Main Street**
   - *Place of worship for at least 47 of Wenham's enslaved adults and 21 of Wenham's enslaved children*[197]

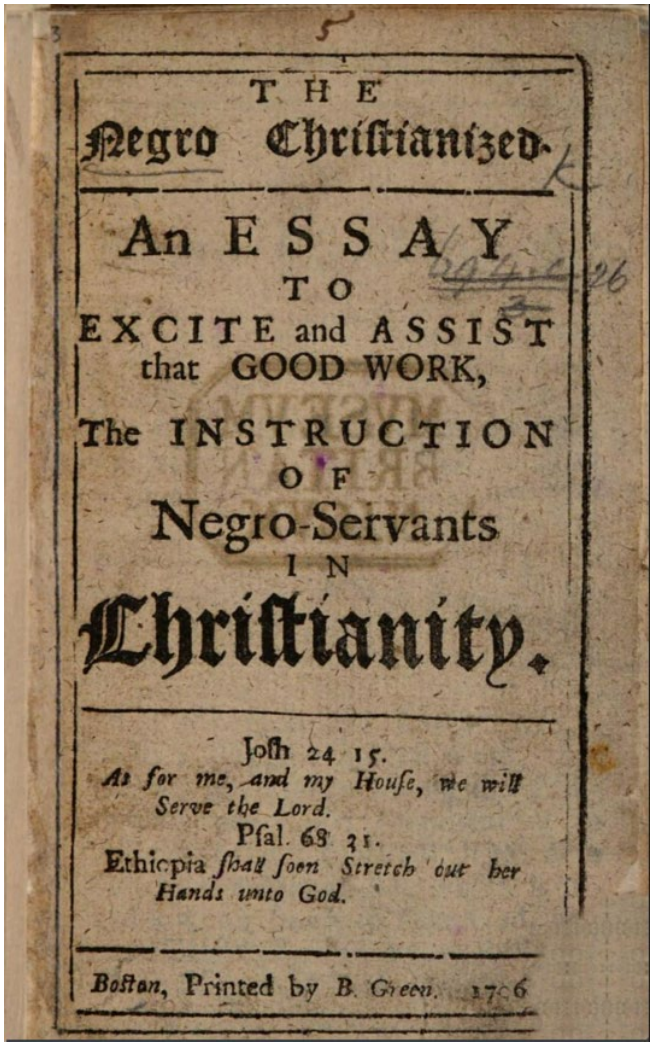
Over half of Wenham's identified enslaved population had some level of participation with the Wenham Congregational Church—adults who worshiped there, children who were baptized by the church, or children whose deaths were recorded by the church. Wenham's church (as well as other churches at the time) had three levels of participation. The entry level was baptism. The second level, referred to as "owning the covenant," allowed parents who had been baptized but had not yet had a conversion experience to have their children baptized. In the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith, this level of membership excluded the privileges of full church membership. The third level was full communion with the church, whereby members had the right to vote, hold office and otherwise fully participate in church affairs. Members of Wenham's enslaved population enjoyed all three levels of membership. The church recorded 26 baptisms of enslaved people, thirteen owning of the covenant, five admissions to the church, one wedding, and 43 deaths (Appendix B).

Baptism of children of enslaved people who themselves had not been baptized was controversial in early eighteenth century New England. But by mid-century an increasing number of churches allowed baptism of enslaved children in cases where the *enslaver* had been baptized.[198] Wenham's baptismal records suggests that the Wenham church adopted this broader rule for baptism by 1752.[199]

The building at the corner of Main and Arbor Streets is the Fifth Meeting House for Wenham's Congregational Church. It replaced the Fourth Meeting House, which was built in 1748 and stood somewhat to the southwest of the current building, roughly parallel to today's Main Street, its front door pointing to the southwest. Its site had previously been the site of the Third Meeting House (1688–1747) and was adjacent to the site of the Second Meeting House (1663–1687).[200]

Some of the baptisms, owning of the covenant and admissions occurred while the congregation occupied the Third Meeting House, but most occurred during the period of the Fourth Meeting House. The earliest record

Continued on p. 92



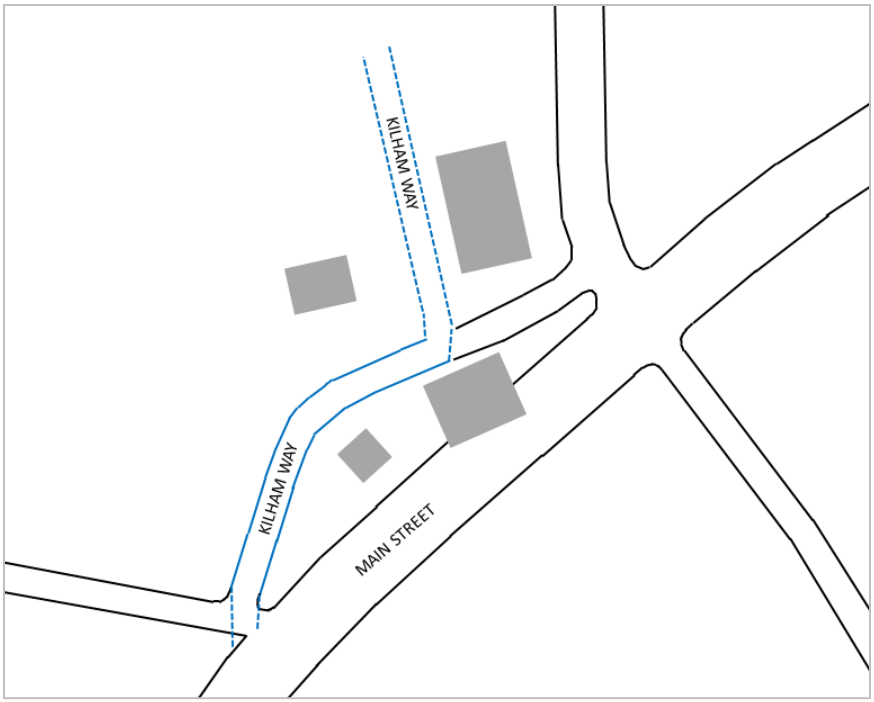
THE
Negro Christianized.

An ESSAY
TO
EXCITE and ASSIST
that GOOD WORK,
The INSTRUCTION
OF
Negro-Servants
IN
Christianity.

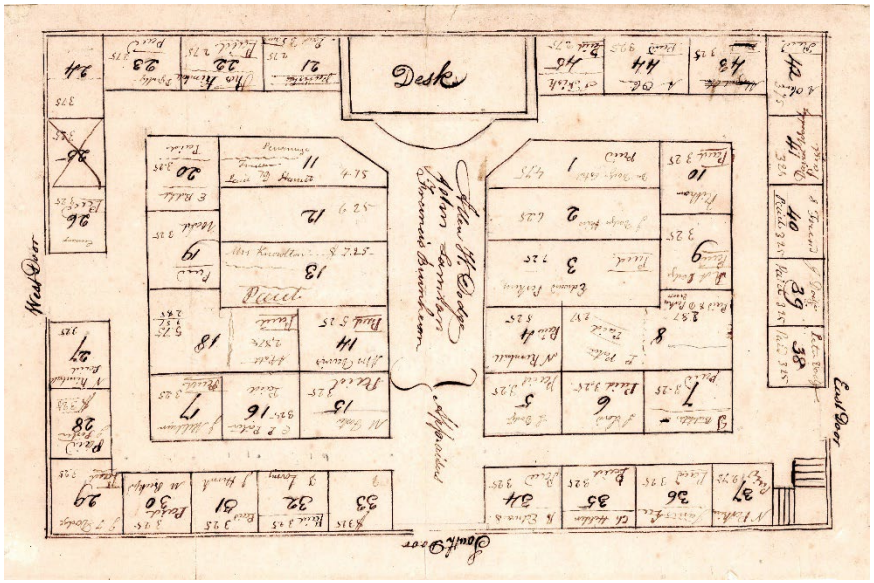
Josh 24 15.
As for me, and my House, we will Serve the Lord.
Psal. 68 31.
Ethiopia *shall soon Stretch out her Hands unto God.*

Boston, Printed by B. Green. 1706

Title page of Cotton Mather's essay, *The Negro Christianized*, 1706. Mather argued that enslavers had a duty to convert enslaved members of their household to Christianity and provided a catechism for instructing enslaved people in the key principles of the faith.[201]



Former sites of the Second, Third and Fourth Meeting Houses, with the Henry Hobbs House and the Fifth Meeting House. The Second Meeting House was approximately where the Civil War Monument is today. The Third and Fourth Meeting Houses shared a site to the southwest of the current meeting house, Main Street having been widened over the years. Kilham Way, outlined in blue, was laid out by 1665 and was a road to the Austin Kilham Farm.[202]



Floor plan of the Fourth Meeting House, which was in service between 1748 and 1843, showing a series of box pews along the exterior walls, other box pews in the inner part of the room on either side of a central aisle, and a "desk" (pulpit) that appears to have been placed on a dais. Over half of Wenham's identified enslaved population had some level of participation with the Wenham Congregational Church, most of which occurred while the church occupied this building. Enslaved man Pompey Porter (1752–1833), who lived nearby in the Kemp-Newman-Porter House, was one of its sextons.[203]

of an enslaved person's association with the church is from 1723 when the minister documented the death of Caesar (Lieut. John Gott household, page 33) during an epidemic. The first baptisms occurred in 1737, which corresponded with a wave of religious revivalism known as the Great Awakening that swept through New England and elsewhere in the 1730s and 1740s. (1737 was an alarming year in Wenham's history. An epidemic of "throat distemper"—diagnosed in the twentieth century as diphtheria—killed about twenty Wenhamites in three months and prompted the town to hold a day of fast. The epidemic may have been a catalyst that fueled local revivalism.) Seating was segregated: in 1756 the church voted to lengthen the seat at the west end of the Fourth Meeting House that had been reserved for people of color.[204]

8. The Robert Symonds House, 16 Larch Row

- *Residence of two anonymous enslaved people in the Rev. John Warren and Elizabeth (Chipman) Warren households by 1749 and through 1751*

Robert Symonds (ca.1645–1724), a blacksmith, bought a ten-acre farm here in 1685 and built a house on the property probably soon after but certainly by 1708. He was keeper of the town pound (where wayward livestock were held until retrieved by their owners), and bellringer and floor-sweeper for the meeting house. Symonds moved to Windham, Connecticut in 1710, having been preceded by members of Wenham's Fiske and Abbey families.[205] The house was later owned by enslavers Rev. John Warren (1704–1749) and Isaac Giddings Jr. (bp. 1721). Also of interest: the house was once owned by Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792).[206]

Rev. John Warren was minister of Wenham's church from 1733 until his death in 1749 and lived in this house during that period. He married Elizabeth Chipman (1719–1773) in 1737; they had three daughters and one son.[207] His ministry coincided with the Great Awakening, a wave of religious revivalism that swept through New England and elsewhere in the 1730s and 1740s—and coincided with the sudden participation in the Wenham church by members of Wenham's enslaved population (Appendix B). At the time of his death he had two anonymous enslaved people (genders not recorded) in his household, whom his widow Elizabeth sold in 1751.[208]

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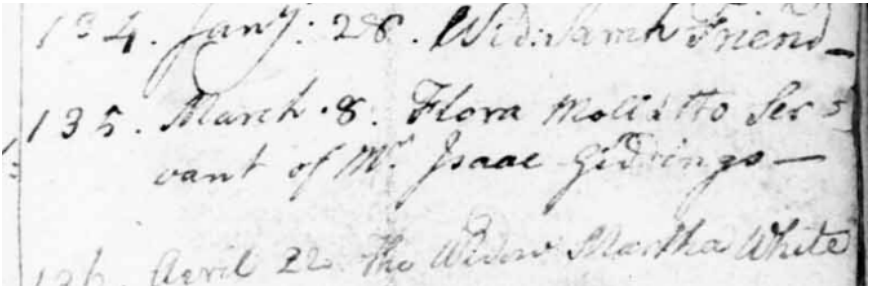
Isaac Giddings Jr. married Elizabeth Goldsmith (ca.1723–1790) in Wenham in 1743. They had ten children, three of whom died in their youth within two weeks of each other. He lived in this house from 1767 to 1771 and farmed this property as well as land that he owned in West Wenham.[209] An enslaved woman named Flora, who was of both African and European descent, was part of his household. She died in 1763, her death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, which indicates that she worshiped there.[210] But Giddings' homestead prior to 1767 hasn't been identified; consequently, we don't actually know where Flora lived and worked. If Isaac and Elizabeth Giddings had enslaved workers while living in the Symonds House, no record of them has been found.



Record of Flora's death, 1763.[211]

9. The William Davison House, Formerly on the East Side of Perkins Street *or* Perhaps Near the Intersection of Wallis Drive and Main Street

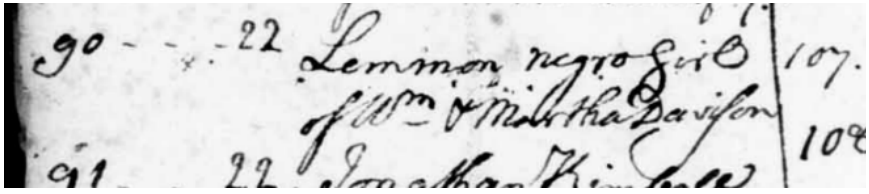
- *Residence of Lemmon in the William Davison household by 1759*

The Davison Farm comprised sixteen acres, with narrow frontage along Main Street and a large stretch of frontage along Perkins Street. Although there was space for a house near the current-day intersection of Wallis Drive

and Main Street, there's no surviving evidence that indicates whether the Davison House was closer to Perkins Street or closer to Main Street. The house was gone by 1856, when the first map was published that showed (reliably) the locations of Wenham's houses.[212] Oral history, however, maintains that the house at 28 Perkins Street incorporates or was built on the site of housing for enslaved people.[213]

William Davison (bp. 1727?) and Martha Mastus or Masters were married in 1754 in Manchester. They had three children who were born or baptized in Wenham between 1755 and 1757. William Sr. had previously been married to Mary (maiden name unknown, b. ca.1729) who died in Manchester in 1753.[214]

In 1759 an enslaved girl named Lemmon died while part of the Davison household. She died just two weeks before the Davisons' daughter Martha, which suggests both may have died of the same illness.[215] Lemmon's death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, indicating that she worshiped there. The fact that Lemmon was a child and not an adult raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman (Lemmon's mother) in the household who has gone unrecorded.


90 - - 22 Lemmon negro Girl of Wm & Martha Davison 107.
91 22 Jonathan King 108

Record of Lemmon's death, 1759.[216]

The William Davison and Thomas Brown Jr. Farms. The Davison Farm (parcel A) is outlined in blue. Identification of its boundaries is grounded on the site of the Pelatiah Brown Farm (parcel B). Portions of the Thomas Brown Jr. Farm are indicated by C1, C2 and C3.[217]

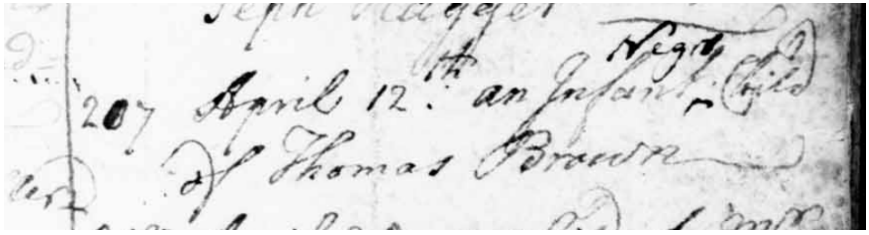
10. The Thomas Brown Jr. House, Formerly Near 4 Linden Street

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved infant in the Thomas Brown Jr. household in 1773*

The Thomas Brown Jr. Farm was 103 acres that straddled the Hamilton-Wenham town line, although the 1777 deed describing the property identifies Brown as being "of Wenham." The deed doesn't indicate how much of the farm was in Wenham, although subsequent deeds for subdivision of the Wenham portion account for at least 30 acres. The Wenham portion included the area around current-day Stanton Street and extended southwest to Pingree Park and Main Street. The Thomas Brown Jr. House had a gambrel roof and burned around 1820 or 1824.[218]

Thomas Brown Jr. (1721–1795) married Elizabeth Smith (bp. 1722–after 1795) in Ipswich (probably in the part of town that would become Hamilton), the intention of their marriage published in 1743. They had eleven children born between 1745 and 1764, all of whose births were recorded by the Wenham town clerk.[219]

In 1773 an anonymous enslaved infant (gender not recorded) died while part of the Brown household.[220] The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents. The fact that he or she was a child and not an adult raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman in the household who has gone unrecorded.



Record of the death of the enslaved infant in Thomas Brown Jr.'s household, 1773.[221]

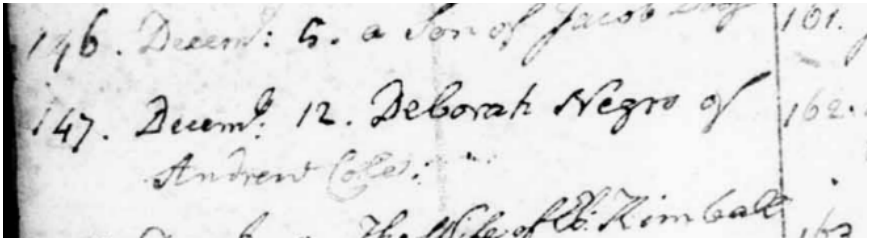
11. The First John Kilham House, Formerly at 214 Main Street

- *Residence of Deborah in the Andrew Cole household by 1764*

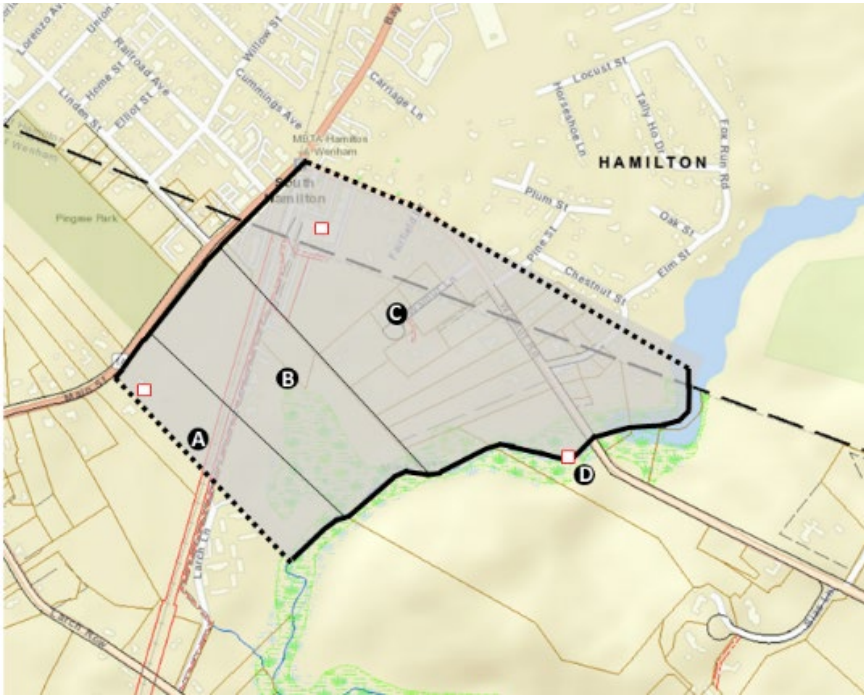
Andrew Cole assembled a farm along the southeast side of Main Street in two transactions. In 1753 he bought a house, barn and ten acres, the house having been built in 1746 or 1747 by John Kilham (1710–1774). It stood until 1863 when it was replaced by the current structure. The second transaction was in 1771 when Cole bought an abutting nineteen-acre lot that was previously part of the Fairfield Farm (discussed below in the context of the Smith-Fairfield House).[222]

Cole (1729–1787) married Rebecca Kilham (1729–1790) in 1751; they had seven children between 1752 and 1771.[223] He identified himself as a cooper when he bought property in 1753 and 1771. Later, however, he became a sailor and died on the island of Hispaniola.[224]

An enslaved woman named Deborah was part of the Cole household and died in 1764.[225] Her death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, which indicates that she worshiped there. We can hypothesize that she was the same Deborah who married Sharper (part of the Samuel Gott (1695–1752) household, pages 23-25) in 1738 when she was part of the Joseph Herrick (1667–1749) household of Topsfield—who was the woman who was transferred to the Josiah White (1703–1761) household (page 107) by 1752.[226]


146. Decem: 5. a Son of Jacob [illegible] 101.
147. Decem: 12. Deborah Negro of
Andrew Cole:

Record of Deborah's death, 1764.[227]



The Andrew Cole Farm, Walter Fairfield Farm and the White's Mill Complex. The Cole Farm consisted of parcels A and B, which Andrew Cole acquired in 1753 and 1771 respectively. He lived in the First John Kilham House, which was on parcel A on the site of the current house at 214 Main Street. Parcel B, however, had previously been part of the Fairfield Farm (discussed below in the context of the Smith-Fairfield House); Walter Fairfield's father John had acquired parcels B and C by 1646. The Smith-Fairfield House was on the site of the current-day shopping plaza. Due to gradual flooding of the area over the years, the few remains that are left of the White's Mill Complex (D) are under water.[228]

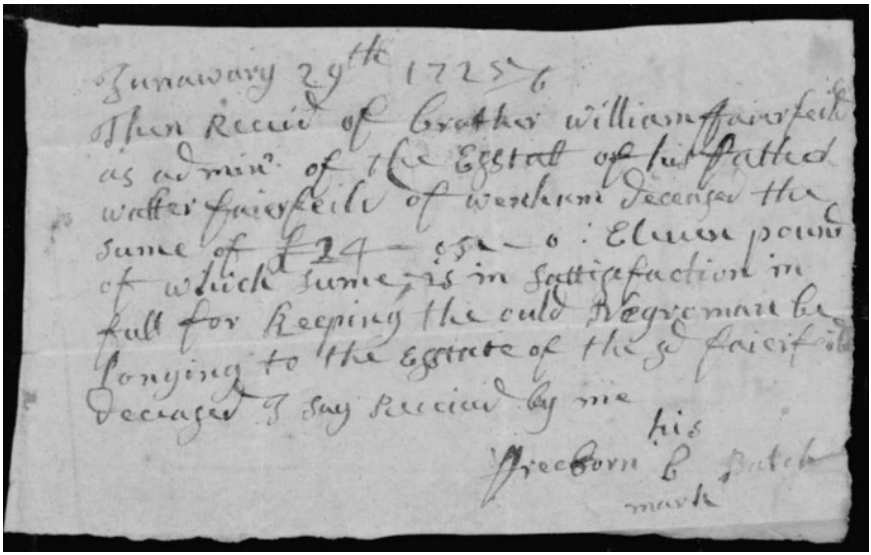
12. The Smith-Fairfield House, Formerly Near 15 Walnut Road, Hamilton

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved man in the Walter Fairfield household by 1712 and through 1723*
- *Residence of Caesar in the Ens. Benjamin Kimball household by 1766*
- *Residence of Dinah in the Ens. Benjamin Kimball household by 1766*

John Fairfield (ca.1610–1646) had a homestead that straddled the Hamilton-Wenham town line. His house was actually just north of the town line, but most of the property was in Wenham and he therefore was considered a Wenham resident. John's son Walter Fairfield came to own the property in 1667.[229] Nearly 300 years later the house was torn down for the construction of the shopping plaza that's currently on the site.[230] Both Walter Fairfield and subsequent owner Ens. Benjamin Kimball had enslaved people in their respective households.

Walter Fairfield (ca.1631–1723) married Sarah Skipper (ca.1639–1710) in 1654. They had fourteen children.[231] Fairfield formed a partnership with Thomas Fiske Sr. (bp. 1630–1707) and Thomas White (ca.1633–1672) to build a sawmill along Miles River, the genesis of the White's Mill Complex discussed below. He briefly ran a tavern in his house, in 1681, and was criticized (but apparently not punished) for serving alcohol illegally to Indigenous men. And he had a temper: he was taken to court in 1674 for beating up a neighbor who was poaching wood from Fairfield's West Wenham woodlot, and in 1680 for another altercation when he struck a woman while he was trying to collect a tax on behalf of the town.[232]

In 1712 Fairfield was fined for underpaying the eighteenth century equivalent of a property tax, the selectmen determining that he had (1) neglected to pay that part of his tax attributable to the value of Fairfield's "servant," cow and swine, and (2) misrepresented the total amount of his real estate. Neither the name nor the gender of the enslaved person is documented.[233] In 1726, as the Fairfield family was winding up the settlement of Fairfield's estate (Walter having died in 1723), an anonymous "old" enslaved man who had been in Fairfield's household was living with son-in-law and Beverly resident Freeborn Balch (1660–1729).[234] It is likely that the man living in 1726 was the same person as the "servant" in the 1712 tax dispute. It is also likely that, in addition to working Fairfield's farm, this man did work in the mill complex on Miles River, given Fairfield's part ownership of it.


Gunnaway 29th 1725 6
Then Recd of Grather williams fairfield
as admin. of the Estate of his Father
Walter fairfield of wenham Deceased the
Sume of £14 – 05s – 0 : Eleven pound
of which Sume is in Sattisfaction in
full for Keeping the ould Negro man be
longing to the Estate of the s.d fairfield
Deceased I say Recd by me
his
Freeborn B Balch
mark

Receipt included in Walter Fairfield's probate file, 1726. While Fairfield's estate was being settled, the enslaved man who had been part of the Fairfield household was temporarily housed by Fairfield's son-in-law Freeborn Balch. This receipt acknowledges payment to Balch for Balch's expenses for housing the man.[235]

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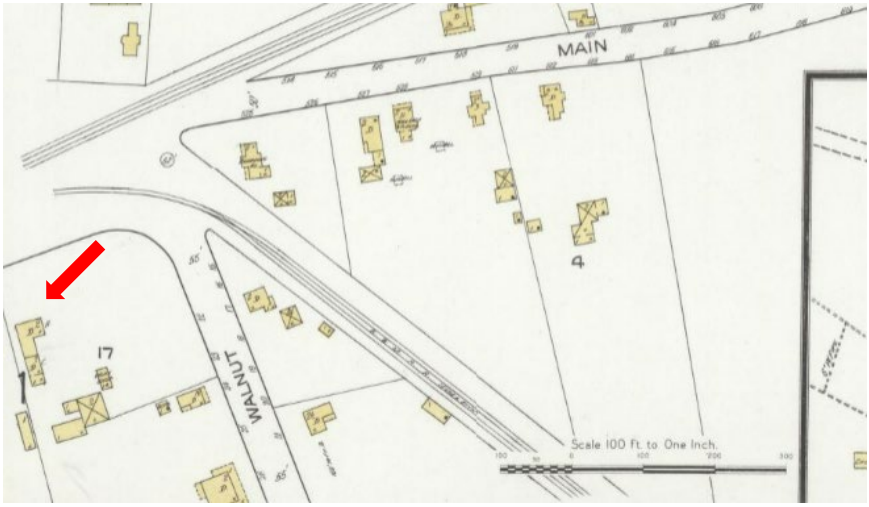
Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766) acquired the Smith-Fairfield House and part ownership of the White's Mill Complex in 1756. He was married four times: to Elizabeth Hovey (1705–1738) in 1727 or 1728, to Phoebe Frye (1709?–1746) in 1739, to Ruth Batchelder (1703–1753) in 1747, and to Hannah (Andrews) Gott (1702–1766) in 1754. He had nine children, the first six or perhaps seven (one of whom was born and died on the same day) with his wife Elizabeth, and two with his wife Ruth.[236]

An enslaved man named Caesar and an enslaved girl named Dinah were included in Kimball's 1766 probate inventory.[237] It is likely that Caesar did work in the White's Mill Complex, given Kimball's ownership interest in it, as well as farm work. While the name "Caesar" was used by multiple enslaved men in Wenham, and no specific information has been found that indicates he was transferred to the Ens. Benjamin Kimball household from another household, it's possible that he was the Caesar who was born in 1749 whose parents were part of the Jonathan Porter (1696–1759) household (pages 70-77). Dinah might have been the girl by that name who was baptized in 1754, whose father Hazard was at that time in the John Gott Jr. (ca.1694–1761) household and mother Flora was in the Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) household, discussed on page 184.



The Smith-Fairfield House, 1916. The house was torn down for the construction of the shopping plaza that's currently on the site.[238]

13. White's Mill Complex, Formerly on Miles River South of Walnut Road

- *Likely workplace of the anonymous enslaved man in the Walter Fairfield household by 1712 and through 1723*
- *Likely workplace of Abner in the Josiah White household by 1761*
- *Likely workplace of Caesar in the Ens. Benjamin Kimball household by 1766*
- *Likely workplace of Scipio in the Peter Dodge household by 1768 through at least 1771*

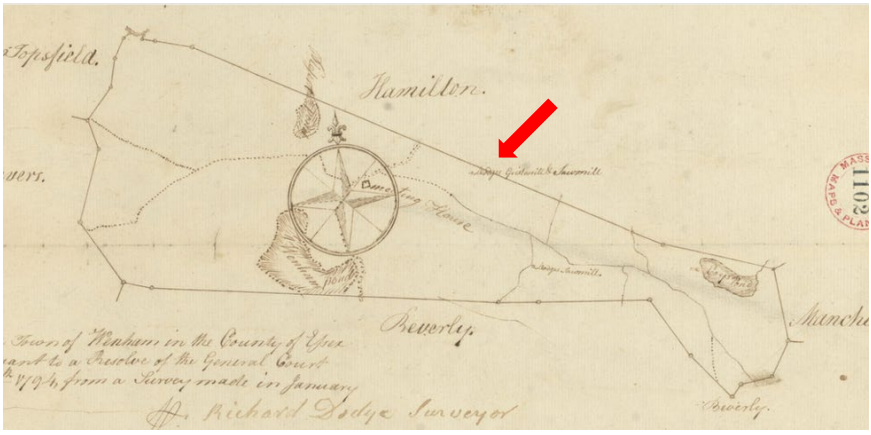
Enslaver Walter Fairfield (bp. 1631–1723) formed a partnership with Thomas Fiske Sr. (bp. 1630–1707) and Thomas White (ca.1633–1672) and built a sawmill by 1672. Known as White's Sawmill, it was along the Miles River near current-day Walnut Road. A gristmill was added in 1725. The Miles River is a very slow-moving stream. But water doesn't need to fall very far to drive a water wheel; the combination of a low dam and an undershot wheel would have provided enough power to drive the site's works.

The mill complex came to be owned by enslaver Peter Dodge (1724–1795) by 1768, and the complex appears on a map of the town drawn in 1795 as "Dodge[']s Gristmill & Sawmill." (Peter Dodge is discussed below at page 111. His twelve year-old stepson William Batchelder Jr. (1758–1771) drowned in 1771 when he "fell into ye mill pond.") The mills do not appear on Hales' 1825 map of Wenham or subsequent maps. A genealogy of the White family published in 1900 describes the mills as "long since gone to decay."[239]

In addition to Walter Fairfield and Peter Dodge, enslavers Josiah White (1703–1761) and Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766) were at different times part owners of the mill complex. It's a reasonable assumption that the anonymous enslaved man in the Walter Fairfield household, Scipio (Peter Dodge household), Abner (White household) and Caesar (Kimball household) worked in the White's Mill Complex. Abner, who was baptized in 1752, was about nine years old when his enslaver Josiah White died—a sobering signal that mill work was likely done by boys as well as men.

Site of the White's Mill Complex dam, photographed about the year 1900. A stone wall appears near the foreground in the right side of this view, perpendicular to a wooden fence that recedes into the distance.[240]

Miles River as seen in the garden of the White Homestead, photographed about the year 1900. Perhaps a sluice gate was used (under what appears to be a bridge) to raise the water level in the mill pond.[241]



Richard Dodge's 1795 map of Wenham. This shows "Dodge[']s Gristmill & Sawmill"—the sawmill formerly known as White's Sawmill—near the Hamilton town line. This map also shows the Dodge Mill Complex in Wenham Neck as "Dodge[']s Sawmill."[242]

14. The White-Dodge-Pingree House, Formerly West of 60 Walnut Road

- *Residence of Deborah in the Josiah White household by 1752 and through ca.1761*
- *Residence of Abner in the Josiah White household by 1752 and through ca.1761*
- *Possible residence of an anonymous enslaved infant in the Peter Dodge household in 1769*
- *Possible residence of Scipio in the Peter Dodge household by 1768 and through at least 1771*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved child in the Haffield White household by 1775*

John White (d. 1673) was granted a 60-acre farm by the town of Salem in 1639. He later received additional grants, assembling a 106-acre farm that abutted Miles River to the west and the Hamilton-Wenham town line to the north. Grandson Josiah White (1703–1761) and his brother were given their grandfather's house in 1738. That house later became the homestead of Josiah's son Haffield White (1739–1818), and later still by Peter Dodge (1724–1795). It was still standing in 1900 but was gone by 1910.[243] Josiah White, Haffield White and Peter Dodge had enslaved people in their respective households.

Josiah White was part owner of the White's Mill Complex during the 1730s.[244] He was married four times: to Elizabeth Kimball (1709–1728) in 1727, to Abigail Fowler (ca.1706–1730) in 1729, to Sarah Prime (b. 1716) in 1732, and to Lois Kenney (ca.1707–1777) in 1751. He had a daughter (who died in infancy) with this first wife, and five children with this third wife.[245] His household included two enslaved people: Deborah and her son Abner.

- Deborah had married Sharper (Samuel Gott (1695–1752) household, pages 23-25) in 1738 when she was part of the Joseph Herrick (1667–1749) household of Topsfield. She was transferred to the White household by 1752. She was still part of that household when an inventory was made of White's estate in 1761.[246] We can hypothesize that Deborah may have been the same woman by that name who died in 1764 while part of the Andrew Cole (1729–1787) household, discussed on page 97.

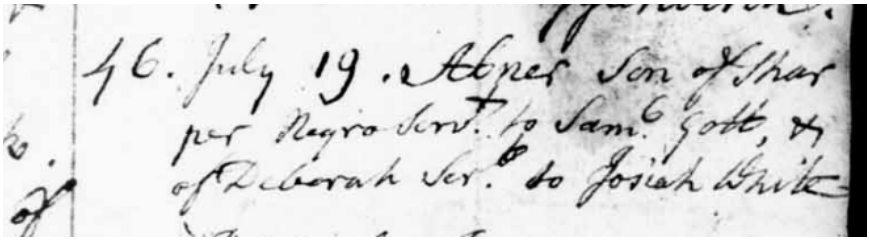
Continued on p. 110

The White-Dodge-Pingree House, photographed ca.1900.[247]

The White-Dodge-Pingree House, photographed ca.1900.[248]

- Abner was probably born in Topsfield. He was baptized in 1752 in Wenham and was part of the Josiah White household when White died in 1761. It is possible that he was the same Abner who was later in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1771 (page 206). Alternatively, it is possible that he was the same Abner who was in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. household in the 1770s (page 85)—the man who adopted the surname Brown by 1790.[249] It is noteworthy that the Abner in the Brown household was assigned a lower financial value than a "maid servant" in the same household in Brown's 1778 estate inventory (Appendix B), a signal that Abner wasn't capable of doing as much work as the maid. If indeed the Abner in the White household was the same man as the Abner in the Brown household, one wonders whether he suffered a farming accident or perhaps an accident at White's Mill Complex that impaired his ability to work.

Deborah had five other children in addition to Abner (pages 23-25) but no evidence has been found that any of her other children were transferred into the White household.


46. July 19. Abner Son of Shar
per Negro Serv.t to Sam.l Gott, &
of Deborah Ser.t to Josiah White

Record of Abner's baptism, 1752.[250]

Josiah White's son Haffield married Lydia Masters (b? d?) in 1761. They had six children, three of whom did not survive to adulthood. Haffield and Lydia moved to Danvers by 1787 and to Ohio in December of that year, where they died.[251] In 1775 an anonymous enslaved child (gender and age not recorded) died in Haffield's household, the child's death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[252] The fact that it was a child and

not an adult raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman (the child's mother) in the Haffield White household who has gone unrecorded.

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Peter Dodge was married twice: to Sarah Dodge (b. 1732) in 1752, and to Elizabeth (Cressy) Batchelder (1736–1821) in 1762. He had two children with his first wife and seven with his second wife. He acquired most if not all of the White's Mill Complex by 1768, and the complex appears on a map of the town drawn in 1795 as "Dodge[']s Gristmill & Sawmill." Peter Dodge's stepson William Batchelder Jr. (1758–1771) drowned in January 1771 when he was walking across the iced-over mill pond and fell through the ice.[253]

There were at least two enslaved people in Dodge's household.

- An anonymous enslaved infant (gender not recorded) died while part of the Peter Dodge household in 1769, the death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[254] The presence of an infant raises the likelihood that there was an enslaved woman (the infant's mother) in the household who has gone unrecorded.
- An enslaved man named Scipio was part of the household during the years 1768 through 1771, when he was hired out on a number of occasions to enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778)—building a wall, digging a ditch and doing other farm work—to repay Peter Dodge's debts to Lieut. Richard.[255] Scipio may perhaps have been the father of the anonymous infant who died in 1769. Otherwise, there's a possibility that there was another enslaved man in the household who has gone unrecorded.

We don't know when Dodge moved into the White-Dodge-Pingree House. It is possible that he shared the house, as a tenant, with Haffield White's family. If, however, he was living elsewhere between 1768 and 1771, no record has been found that documents where.

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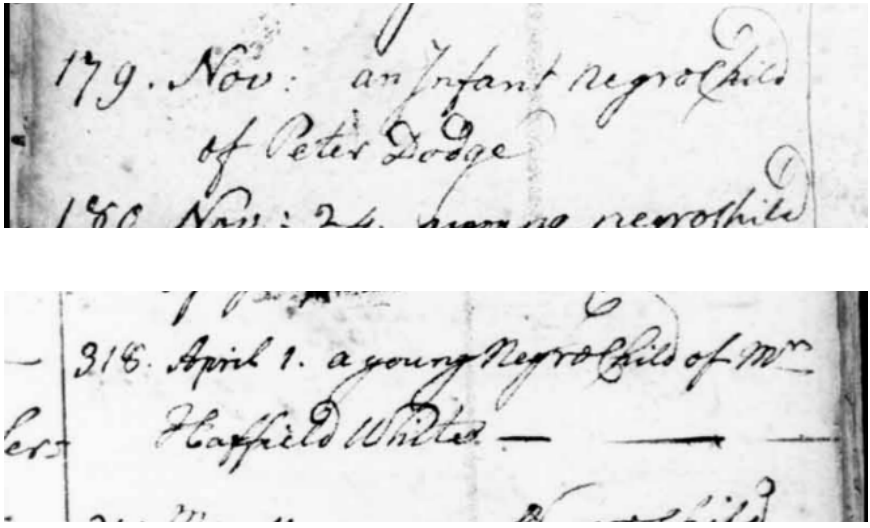
Sensibilities change over time. By the 1830s, one of enslaver Peter Dodge's grandsons, Theodore Dodge (1790–1863), had become an abolitionist.[256]



Records of the deaths of the anonymous enslaved infant in the Peter Dodge household (1769) and the anonymous enslaved child in the Haffield White household (1775).[257]

114 *Title History*: 200-acre grant to Roger Conant (bp. 1592–1679) from the town of Salem, January 25, 1636. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 3, 12. Essex Institute (1868), 12, 19. To Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) perhaps ca.1659 (marriage) but by 1680; deed not recorded. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 53-54; see also 54-55. Essex County Deeds 81:27 ([Capt.] John Dodge Jr. [*sic*] to John Dodge [3rd] et al., 1710); 104:157 (John [3rd] and Ruth Dodge to George Dodge, 1757), first parcel; 137:121 (George Dodge to John Dodge [1717–1779]), 1758), first parcel. To John Dodge's (1717–1779) son Lieut./Dea. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825); see Essex County Probate 7879 (John Dodge, 1779), :7 Will (1779), :13 Inventory (1779), :16 Division of Real Estate (1780), second moiety. Essex County Probate 7887 ([Lieut./Dea.] John Dodge [Jr.], 1825), :13 Inventory (1825). Essex County Deeds 240:91 (Sarah Dodge to John Dodge [3rd] et al., 1825); and 244:66 (Paul and Sarah Kimball to John Dodge [3rd] et al., 1826). Gap in title history. To John "Pond John" Dodge 3rd (1770–1849) but deed not recorded. Essex County Probate 37606 (John Dodge [3rd], 1850), :12 Inventory (1850), :19 Account (1853). Essex County Deeds 444:238 (Jesse Sheldon, executor, to Isaac B. Woodberry [*sic*], 1851), first parcel; 539:34 (Isaac B. and Mary A. Woodbury to Eliza and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1856), first parcel; 575:220 (Eliza Andrews to John Clifton, mortgage, 1858); 578:217 (John Clifton to Eliza Andrews, 1858); 586:202 (Ebenezer T. and Eliza Andrews to Isaac B. Woodbury, mortgage, 1858); 587:36 (Eliza and Ebenezer T. Andrews to Rosilla J. Tyrell, 1859), first parcel; 587:37 (Rosilla J. and Parker P. Tyrell to Eliza Andrews, mortgage, 1859), first parcel; 695:163 (Parker P. and Rosilla J. Tyrell to Amos Gould, mortgage, 1865); 695:174 (Parker P. and Rosilla J. Tyrell to Charles W. Wellington, mortgage, 1865); 1034:193 (Rosilla J. and Parker P. Tyrell to James H. Perkins, mortgage, 1880); 1075:200 (Rosilla J. and Parker P. Tyrell to James H. Perkins, mortgage, 1882); 1167:107 (Rosilla J. and Parker P. Tyrell to James H. Perkins, mortgage, 1886); 1203:142 (Rosilla J. and Parker P. Tyrell to Lewis D. Metcalf, mortgage, 1887), no mention of house; 1251:383 (Charles E. S. MacCorry, possession, 1889); 1251:383 (Charles E. S. MacCorry to William H. Hyland, 1889); 1251:386 (William H. Hyland to Charles E. S. MacCorry, 1889); 1352:363 (Charles E. S. MacCorry to Charles H. Tilton, 1892); 1485:372 (Charles H. and Florence B. Tilton to Alonzo R. Weed, 1896), first parcel; 1485:373 (Alonzo R. and Charlotte A. Weed to Florence B. Tilton, 1896), first parcel; 1848:475 (Charles H. and Florence B. Tilton to Salem Savings Bank, mortgage, 1906); 1864:341 (Charles H. and Florence B. Tilton to Salem Savings Bank, mortgage, 1907); 2265:310 (Florence B. Tilton to Carlotta Sharpe, 1914), first parcel; 2494:449 (Ernest R. and Carlotta Sharpe to Philip Horton Smith, 1921); 2494:450 (Philip Horton Smith to Salem Five Cents Savings Bank, mortgage, 1921); 2601:187 (Philip Horton Smith to Salem Five Cents Savings Bank, mortgage, 1924); 2934:594 (Massachusetts Highway Commission, taking, 1932); 2938:132 (Philip Horton Smith to Department of Public Works, 1932); 3264:485 (Philip Horton and Elinor C. M. Smith to Alice M. Hogan, 1941); 3264:486 (Alice M. Hogan to Philip Horton and Elinor C. M. Smith, 1941); and 22245:319 (Dana P. Jordan, executor, to Steven B. Dodge, trustee, 2003), first parcel. *Maps*: Hales (1825), unlabeled house. Walling (1856), "I. B. Woodbury" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Terrill" House (site). Essex County Deeds Plan 1352:363 ("Plan of the Tyrril [*sic*] Estate, Wenham," 1882). Walker (1884), 87, "Terrill" House (site). B. H. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #1. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 33, "Chas. H. Tilton" property. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.062. Lillie (1976), "Lt. John Dodge delegate to the Albany Plan of Union, 1755 [*sic*]" House. *Other References*: November 13, 1891, December 19, 1891 and November 14, 1893 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, BHC319, BHC355 and BHC845. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 134-135, 156 (description of fencing). Phillips (1938), 33. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 207 (street widening,

John Dodge Jr.). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 14-15. Corcoran (2024), 50-54. Corcoran (2025), 21-22, 71, 75-77. (The caption to the photograph on 76 is incorrect. The photograph shows a later house that was built near the site of the Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) House. See Robert Rantoul's comments below that the original house was gone and its cellar filled in by 1893.)

Regarding the house site and John "Pond John" Dodge 3rd (1770–1849), Salem mayor Robert S. Rantoul (1832–1922) recalled at the time of Wenham's 1893 250th Anniversary celebration:

> There was another old character living in Wenham during my childhood. He was John Dodge. His house is gone, the cellar gone, the old tree in front of the house gone, and now the last trace of Pond John Dodge, as he was called, has gone. When Dodge was a little boy, Gen. [Thomas] Gage spent his summers in Danvers at King Hooper's estate. The King had a barge on Wenham [L]ake. When Gage hired the house he used to come to the lake and sail. He used to cross the lake and take Little Pond John Dodge upon his knee, and feed him with sweetmeats, trying to win the confidence of the villagers. That little history I know to be true."

"The Wenham Celebration" (1893). See also ""Wenham's 250th Birthday Celebration" (1893).

115 There were three John Dodges living in Wenham when enslaved people Judith, Flora and Primus were alive. The others, besides John Dodge (1717–1779), were Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) and Lieut./Dea. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:91, 116. But both Capt. John and Lieut./Dea. John Jr. were too young in 1759 (when Judith's daughter Flora was baptized) to have been head of a household. Indeed, Capt. John's father was Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) and Lieut./Dea. John Jr.'s father was John Dodge (1717–1779): both boys' fathers were alive in 1759. In addition, the 1777 record of Primus' death refers to "John Dodge" *sans* title (e.g., "Capt.") or suffix (e.g., "Jr."). Essex County Deeds 137:121 (George Dodge to John Dodge [1717–1779]), 1758). Essex County Probate 7879 (John Dodge, 1779). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:54. Essex Institute (1904), 191. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:109, 2:93, 126. Essex Institute (1910), 2:138, 173. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #150154098 and 150154376. Corcoran (2025), 71.

116 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68. Death not recorded in Essex Institute (1904).

117 The child died in July 1758 in the John Dodge (1717–1779) household, but when Judith announced the intention of her marriage in November 1758, she was part of the Jerusha Dodge household. Even if Jerusha had moved in with her son John Dodge by July 1758, if the child had been Judith's, Jerusha (not John Dodge) would likely have been identified as the child's enslaver.

118 Photographed November 3, 1893 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #204-C. This image previously appeared (reversed) in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 14. For Sally (Dodge) Spalding see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #125321659.

119 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 49. Town of Wenham, MS (1678–1799, 1902), 22, 28. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:361. For Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge see Essex County Probate 7893 (Jonathan Dodge, 1756); J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:30-31; and Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:393, 2:87, 256, 257, 352.

120 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 49. Essex Institute (1904), 84. Flora may have been named after Hazard's first partner.

121 The Flora who was part of the Isaac Giddings Jr. household died in 1763. The record of her death called her a "servant" and not a "girl," which seems to indicate she was older than the Flora who was born to Judith and Hazard in 1759. The Flora who was part of the Skipper Dodge household died in 1770 as an infant, too old to be the Flora who was born in 1759.

122 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

123 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68: "between these ~~two~~ died July two negro Children one of Richard Dodge & ye other of John Dodge."

124 *Ibid.*, 201: "[#]340]. May 30. Primus a Negro Man Servant of M^r. John Dodge."

125 A 200-acre grant was made to Roger Conant (bp. 1592–1679) in 1636. The bulk of the grant was in North Beverly, but part of the grant extended north of the current Beverly-Wenham town line to Alewife Brook (the stream that once exited Wenham Lake, now swamp). Essex Institute (1868), 12. Salem's grant-making in what is now Wenham accelerated in 1637. Essex Institute (1868), 19-27, 42-43, 47, 59, 63-64, 67, 69. Perley (1924–1928), 2:147-154.

126 The date of the sermon has gone unrecorded. Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) was accepted as a resident of Salem in 1637 and was granted a 150-acre farm in current-day Wenham in 1638. He was Wenham's first settled minister. If Rev. Fiske moved to his newly granted farm in 1638 or 1639, that would support a date of 1638 for Rev. Peter's sermon; it seems rather unlikely that Rev. Peter would have been called upon if Rev. Fiske was already living in the fledgling community. Essex Institute (1868), 51, 67, 82, 91, 95-96.

In December 1638 a Salem town meeting voted that a village should be granted to Rev. John Phillips (ca.1585–1660) "and his company." Essex Institute (1868), 77. Rev. Phillips was a recent arrival from England and was being recruited to become minister of the church at Dedham; the town meeting vote was an attempt to keep him nearby. The timing of this town meeting vote supports a 1638 date for Rev. Peter's sermon.

M. O. Allen (1860), 152-153, mistakenly says the sermon occurred in 1642. But Gov. John Winthrop, a contemporary of Rev. Peter, recorded that Peter returned to England in 1641. Peters (1902), 16-19. Hosmer (1908), 160-161. Dunn and Yeandle (1996), 191, 208. See also Perley (1924–1928), 2:151.

127 Peter to Winthrop, ca. July 15, 1637, retrieved from Massachusetts Historical Society (2023). Spelling and punctuation of Peter's correspondence to Winthrop edited. Peters (1902), 10. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 1:11. Perley (1924–1928), 1:414-415. Corcoran (2023), 8-9, 11, 14.

128 Bragg and Towne, MS (1741–1820), 70-71. Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) charged Bragg for hauling logs and sawing them into boards at the Dodge Mill Complex in 1765, presumably for this construction project. [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 3. Dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the existing house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure. An inspection of the interior of the house was not done as part of the research for this book.

Sarah (White) Fairfield (ca.1733–1814) ran a tavern in the house, and the Rev. William Bentley (1759–1819) recorded stops at her tavern in 1787 and 1789. Bentley (1905–1914) 1:68, 76, 115.

Title History: 150-acre grant to Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) from the town of Salem, 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 30; and Essex Institute (1868), 67.Essex County Deeds 3:169 [555] ([Rev.] John Fiske to William Dodge, 1667). From William Dodge (d. after 1685) to his daughter Hannah (Dodge) (Porter) Woodbury (bp. 1642–1689) to her son John Porter (1658–1753) per Essex County Deeds 8:163 [546] (William Dodge to Hanah [*sic*] Woodbery [*sic*] et al., 1685). See also J. W. Porter (1878), 230 and J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:14-15, 21.

Essex County Deeds 99:246 (John Porter to Samuel Porter, 1738), first parcel, including house. To Ebenezer Porter (1716–1800); deed not recorded but see 98:172 (Samuel Porter to Samuel [Jr.] and Ebenezer Porter, 1754), first parcel, for reference to this house. Essex County Deeds 100:202 (division of property between Samuel Jr. and Ebenezer Porter, 1754), fourth parcel; 100:206 (Ebenezer and Hannah Porter to Nathaniel Browne [*sic*], 1754); 124:131 (Nathaniel and Anne Brown to [Dr.] William Fairfield, 1765); 158:2 (Sarah Fairfield et al. to Isaac Porter, 1791), first parcel; 158:3 (John Fairfield to Isaac Porter, 1793); and 158:3 (William Kimball to Isaac Porter, 1793). (The property line between 97 Main Street and 101 Main Street was part of the northern boundary of the Porter Farm. This property line is shown on Walker (1884), 87, Wenham detail, between the "Mrs. Batchelder" House and the "W. E. Porter" House.) Essex County Probate 22459 (Isaac Porter, 1837), :9 Will (1830); 50713 (Paul Porter, 1861), :7-8 Will (1855), :36 Inventory (1861), Isaac Porter Farm; and 50727 (William Porter, 1878), :8 Will (1875), :11 Inventory (1878). Essex County Deeds 1566:281 (Elbridge Porter et al. to Edward A. A. Raymond, 1898), first parcel; 3494:117 (Charles E. Halliday, executor, to J. Clifford Burns, 1946), first parcel; 6365:308 (Catherine Burns Gill and James C. Burns Jr. to Myrtie R. Burns, 1977); 6505:487 (Myrtie R. Burns to Paul F. Broderick Jr. and Paula A. Paglia, 1978); 8012:200 (Paul F. Broderick Jr. and Paula A. Paglia to James A. McLean, 1985); and 8012:202 (James A. McLean to Martha McLean Winrow, 1985). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "W. Porter" House. Beers (1872), 95, "W. Porter" House. Walker (1884), 87 "E. Porter" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 33, "E. A. A. Reynolds [*sic*]" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 118:68 ("Plan of Land, Wenham, Property of Mrs. J. Clifford Burns," 1970). Lillie (1776), "Dr[.] William Fairfield, d. 1773, surgeon in French & Indian Wars [*sic*], c. 1760" House. *Other References*: M. O. Allen (1860), 74. November 14, 1893 photograph by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, BHC841. Bentley (1905–1914) 1:68, 76, 115. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 207 (street widening, Isaac Porter). Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.12 (1970). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 28-29. Ganz (2013), 188-202. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:237-239. Corcoran (2023), 53. Corcoran (2024), 49-50, 55-59. Corcoran (2025), 21-22, 97-99.

129 September 6, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

130 Williams, MS (1759). M. O. Allen (1860), 124-125. Essex Institute (1904), 33, 118, 176, 197. Topsfield Historical Society (1910–1911), 2:115, 329. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 5:236. Cole (1943), 60-61. W. C. Fairfield (1953), 38-39. Ganz (2013), 188-202. Corcoran (2023), 48-49, 53. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60559784.

131 M. O. Allen (1860), 74, edited.

132 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63, 64, 194. Essex Institute (1904), 226, 227. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:124.

133 W. C. Fairfield (1953), 38-39.

134 Photographed October 21, 1893 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #0816. The people in the image are unidentified. This image previously appeared in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 28.

135 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 64: "[#]180 Nov: 24. a young negro child of D^{r}. Fairfield." 63: [#]194. feby: 14. Jane a Negro handmaid of D^{r} Wm. Fairfield." 194: [#]359 London Negro Servant of Widow Fairfield."

136 *Title History*: Possibly the 30-acre grant to Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) from the town of Salem, 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 49. Essex Institute (1868), 95-96. Otherwise, an unrecorded grant of ~10 acres to Rev. John Fiske. Gap in title history. To Edward Kemp

(ca.1613–1668) by 1654, Kemp being identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Town of Ipswich, MS (1639–1695), 1:177 [484] (Edward Spalding [*sic*, Jr.] to Robert Hawes, 1654), second parcel. Gap in title history. To Robert McClaflin (d. 1690) possibly ca.1662 and certainly by 1671. From McClaflin to the Town of Wenham by exchange, 1673. Town of Wenham, MS (1642–1706), 38 (frame 23); second section, 30 (frame 104). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 38-39. Essex County Deeds 8:96 [251] (Robert Mackclaflin to [Rev.] Joseph Gerrish, 1688), three acres. Essex County Deeds 41:184 ([Rev.] Joseph and Anna Gerrish to Thomas Fiske Jr., 1692 or 1693), five [*sic*] acres. Gap in title history. To Capt./Dea. Jonathan Kimball (1686–1758). Gap in title history. To Samuel Goodridge Jr. (1719–1776), Goodridge being identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Probate 15644 ([Capt.] Jonathan Kimball, 1758), :18-19 Settlement (1759), description of widow's thirds. Essex County Deeds 112:85 (Samuel and Lydia Goodridge to Daniel Killam [*sic*] Jr., 1761), first parcel, including house; 120:102 (Daniel Jr. and Elizabeth Killam [*sic*] to Abraham Kimball, 1761); 115:145 (Abraham and Elizabeth Kimball to Ebenezer Kimball, 1763); 122:273 (Ebenezer and Elizabeth Kimball to [Dea.] John Friend [Jr.], 1769). Essex County Probate 10212 (Dea. John Friend [Jr.], 1785), :16 Will (1785), :21 Inventory (1785). Essex County Deeds 159:144 (Benjamin Friend to Rev. Adoniram Judson, 1793); 168:32 ([Rev.] Adoniram and Abigail Judson to Thomas Saunders, 1800); 186:196 (Thomas and Elizabeth Saunders to Henry Elkins, 1806), first parcel; 199:134 (Henry and Preserved Elkins to Paul Porter, 1813); 199:135 (Paul Porter to Henry Elkins, mortgage, 1813); 219:192 (Paul and Nancy Porter to Rev. John Smith, 1818); and 231:121 ([Rev.] John and Hannah Smith to Edmund Kimball, 1822). Gap in title history. To Capt. Edmund Batchelder Jr. (1794–1865) by 1836, but deed not recorded; this property is identified as being owned by Batchelder in 289:106 ([Capt.] Edmund [Jr.] and Lydia Batchelder to Edmund Kimball Jr., 1836), a deed recording the sale of abutting land. From Capt. Edmund Batchelder Jr. to Martha Porter in 1843, but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 360:74 (Martha Porter to Edmund Kimball Jr., 1845); 376:256 (Edmund Jr. and Mary W. Kimball to Daniel Bradbury, 1845); 427:248 (Daniel Bradbury to Ethan Stone, 1850); 433:280 (Daniel and Sarah A. Bradbury to Phineas E. Gay and Charles E. Stratton, 1850); 433:280 (Ethan and Eunice A. Stone to Phineas E. Gay and Charles E. Stratton, mortgage, 1850); 436:245 (Ethan and Eunice A. Stone to Daniel Bradbury, 1850); 443:158 (Daniel and Sarah A. Bradbury to Samuel Putnam, mortgage, 1851); 522:217 (Phineas E. Gray and Charles E. Stratton et al. to Daniel Bradbury, 1855); 522:218 (Samuel Putnam to Daniel Bradbury, discharge, 1855); 653:214 (John A. Putnam, assignee to Charles L. Merrill, 1863); 653:214 (Charles L. Merrill to Sarah A. Bradbury, 1863); 1149:96 (Charles L. and Sarah M. Merrill to Daniel Bradbury, 1885); and 1149:96 (Daniel and Caroline H. Bradbury to Sarah A. Currier, 1885). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "D. Bradbury" House (site). Beers (1872), 95, "D. Bradbury" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "D. Bradbury" House (site). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "S. Currier Heirs" House (site). *Other References*: Cole (1943), 115 and photograph opposite 116. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.87 (1972). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 32-33. Janes (2011), 88, 118. Hauck, (2013), 612. Corcoran (2024), 50, 60-61. Corcoran (2025), 21-22, 143-144. For Samuel Goodridge Jr. see Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:453 and Essex Institute (1911), 1:186. For Capt. Edmund Batchelder Jr. see Pierce (1898), 441. For Daniel Bradbury see Essex Institute (1904), 93, 130; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #16080-0161.

The Rev. Joseph Swain/John Friend Jr. House shown on Lille (1976) was a different structure that was located on a site to the southwest of this one and was subsequently moved to 20 Arbor Street. It is referred to as the house "now occupied by the [R]everend Ebenezer P. Sperry" in Essex County Probate 7969 ([Dr.] Samuel Dodge, 1834), :9 Will (1833). See Essex County Deeds 289:105 (Rebekah Dodge, guardian to [Capt.] Edmund Batchelder [Jr.],

1836), and 289:106 ([Capt.] Edmund [Jr.] and Lydia Batchelder to Edmund Kimball Jr., 1836). Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.113 (1977). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 108-109. Hauck (2013), 198-200, 613-614, 617-618.

137 Essex County Probate 15493 (Abraham Kimball, 1773). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:53, 74-75. Essex Institute (1904), 48, 131, 135, 207. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 3:520, 560. Elizabeth Houlton may have been the Elizabeth Holten who was born in Danvers in 1712 to Henry and Abigail Holten; see Essex Institute (1909–1910), 1:178. For parcels in West Wenham see Essex County Deeds 45:166 (Caleb Kimball to Abraham Kimball, 1725); 76:114 (John Moulton to Abraham Kimball, 1739); and 76:115 (John and Sarah Batcheller [*sic*] to Abraham Kimball, 1739).

138 Essex County Deeds 115:145 (Abraham and Elizabeth Kimball to Ebenezer Kimball, 1763). Abraham's probate inventory shows that he died in Wenham and that he owned a 33-acre parcel in Wenham with "buildings" on it. Essex County Probate 15493 (Abraham Kimball, 1773), :3 Inventory (1773). But if one of these buildings had been a house, the inventory likely would have said so, or would have used the word "homestead" to describe that parcel.

139 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 65. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

140 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 65: "[#]144. July 29. A young Negro Child of Mr. Abraham Kimball."

141 Essex County Deeds 115:145 (Abraham and Elizabeth Kimball to Ebenezer Kimball, 1763); and 122:273 (Ebenezer and Elizabeth Kimball to [Dea.] John Friend [Jr.], 1769). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:75, 128-129. Essex Institute (1904), 52, 80, 122, 136, 173, 178, 208. Topsfield Historical Society (1904), 82, 92. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #31096658, 31096659 and 52878024. Corcoran (2025), 143-144. The Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 recorded a "shop" on Kimball's property. Although the valuation doesn't tell us what the shop was used for, it may have been a workshop that supported his carpentry. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 317. Pruitt (1998), 162.

142 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63. Essex Institute (1904), 207, 227. The church manuscript record provides the date of the infant's death as November 17 but Essex Institute (1904) erroneously records the date as November 7.

143 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63: "[#]200. Nov 17. An Infant Negro Child of Ebenezer Kimball."

144 *Title History*: 150-acre grant to Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) from the town of Salem, 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 30; and Essex Institute (1868), 67. Rev. Fiske sold the property to Edward Kemp (d. 1668) in 1650, who subsequently sold it to Rev. Antipas Newman (1627–1672). Essex County Deeds 13:184 (Edward Kemp to [Rev.] Antipas Newman, 1658), first parcel, and deposition of Samuel and Hester Foster appended to the deed; and see 88:122 (John Porter to Jonathan Porter, 1746), third parcel). Essex County Deeds 15:280 (John and Ruth Newman to John Porter, 1703), first parcel; 88:122 (John Porter to Jonathan Porter, 1746), third parcel. By inheritance from Jonathan Porter (1696–1759) to son Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811) to Tyler's son Jonathan Porter (1771–1829) to Jonathan's son Dr. John Porter (1799–1866) to Dr. John's daughter Elizabeth W. (Porter) Tilton (1836–1896) wife of George H. Tilton (1826–1905). Essex County Probate 22476 (Jonathan Porter, 1759), :11 Will (1759); 22519 (Tyler Porter, 1811), :6 Will (1811), :10 Inventory (1811); 22478 (Jonathan Porter, 1829), :36-37 Widow's Thirds (1830), :46 Inventory (1829), :64 Inventory (1831); and 50685 (John Porter, 1867), :2 Administrator's Petition, Citation & Decree (1867). Essex County Deeds 1985:548 (Susan C. Gould to Lester E. Libby, 1909); 2220:49 (Lester E. and Georgia E. Libby to Helen G. Brown, 1913); 2645:420 (J. Porter Brown, executor, to Jennie M. Kennard, 1925);

2917:16 (Jennie M. Kennard to Clinton B. and Helen R. Tooley, 1932); 3186:27 (Clinton B. and Helen R. Tooley to George Edward and Louise W. Barton, 1939); 4097:406 (George Edward and Louise W. Barton to Frank S. and Nancy C. Abbott, 1954); 5350:524 (Frank S. and Nancy C. Abbott to Philip J. Woodward, 1966); 5352:90 (Philip J. Woodward to Nancy K. Knight, 1966); 6802:166 (Nancy K. Knight to Charles F. Jr. and Barbara M. Elliott, 1981); 7930:500 (Charles F. Jr. and Barbara M. Elliott to Hugh J. Jr. and Connie M. Collins, 1985); and 28304:26 (Hugh J. Jr. and Connie M. Collins to Kara Lee Good-rich and Karl E. Schmith, 2009). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "Dr. J. Porter" House. Beers (1872), 95, "G. Tilton" House. Walker (1884), 87, "Geo. Tilton" House. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #9. Essex County Deeds Plan 22:31 ("Plan of Land Belonging to Porter Farm 'Fairfields' and Others," 1909); and 859:585 ("Land of Mrs. Jennie M. Kennard, Wenham, Mass.," 1930). L. A. Dodge (1968), map following III-14. Lillie (1976), "Dr. Tyler Porter Tavern." *Other References*: Thornton (1854), 328. M. O. Allen (1860), 160. May 20, 1890, January 2, 1892 and February 23, 1893 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, x2017.021, BHC366 and BHC658. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 28-30 (a discussion of Kilham Way, which is the road in front of the Wenham Congregational Church and the Henry Hobbs House). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 81, 207 (street widening, Tyler Porter). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 45, 115-116. Janes (2011), 49. Hauck (2013), 347. Corcoran (2024), 50, 61-73. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 203-209. For genealogy see Porter (1878), 246, 261-263i, 334; Essex Institute (1904), 71, 72, 217; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #52889699, 63730585, 95496540 and 137389017.

145 Essex County Probate 22476 (Jonathan Porter, 1759). Porter (1878), 246. Essex Institute (1904), 71, 158, 172, 217. Topsfield Historical Society (1905), 98. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19387483 and 60775925.

146 Essex County Probate 22519 (Tyler Porter, 1811). Porter (1878), 261-262. Essex Institute (1904), 72, 116, 159, 217. Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:40, 141, 179. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19387434 and 60774871. Corcoran (2025), 205-209.

147 Photographed 1893 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #0679. The gable over the front door is evocative of First Period architecture. The house displays two chimneys, however, which indicates a renovation perhaps in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

148 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 236):

> Anno Dom. 1743. Ceasar son of Scipio by Sarah his wife was born Augst 13:1749
> Pompey son of Scipio By Sarah his wife was Born April 24 1752
> N:B: the above Scipio & Sarah Servants To M^{r}: Jonathan Porter
> Nancy the Daughter of Scipio By Sarah his his [*sic*] wife was Born 17 of Oct^{r}: 1755 and Died Nov 1757
> a Second Nancy was Born to the said Scipio and Sary [*sic*] August 5: 1760
> Peter the Son of Scipio by Sary [*sic*] his Wife was Born April 1759
> Dilla the Daughter of Primus Boorgiller [*sic*] by Peggy his wife was Born April 13: 1761
> Phebe [ink faded]
> Primus [ink faded] his wife [ink faded] 1764.

Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42, 46, 47, 49, 50, 57, 65, 67, 68, 188. Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:258. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 226.

149 Essex County Probate 22476 (Jonathan Porter, 1759), :3 Inventory (1760), :7 Administrator's Account (1762), :9 Will (1759). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 65, 188. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

150 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 183): "October y^e^ 16 1748—Ser^s^ to Jon^a^ porter [*sic*] an Intent of marriag [*sic*] Between Sipio [*sic*] Black & Sary black [*sic*] both of Wenham was published." Although the year appearing in the record can seem to be "1749" (due to the style of the cursive writing), the context of the record makes it clear that the event occurred in 1748.

151 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42: "[#]40. Pompey Son of Scipio & Sarah Servants to Jonathan Porter." 46: [#]132. Nancy Daughter of Scipio & Sara Negro Servants of Jonathan Porter." 47: "[#]164 Nov: 20. Scipio Negro Servant of Jonathan Porter."

152 *Ibid*, 68: "[#]67. Nov: 6. Nancy Daughter of Scipio & Sarah. Negro Servants of M^r^. Jonathan Porter." 49: "[#]195 May 6. Peter Son of Scipio & Sarah. Negro Servants of Jonathan Porter." 67: "[#98]. [May] 20. Peter Son of Scipio & Sarah."

153 *Ibid*., 50: '[#]226. Aug^t^: 31. Nancy Daughter of Scipio & Sarah (Negro Servants of Widow Lydia Porter). 65: "[#]153. June 7. Scipio Negro Servant of Widow Lydia Porter."

154 Unidentified artist. Early black and white photographs of portraits painted on canvas, catalogued by the Topsfield Historical Society in 1913. Images courtesy of the Topsfield Historical Society, Topsfield, Massachusetts, x4.76 and x4.77.

155 Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 316. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 39. Essex County Deeds 183:120 (Tyler Porter, deposition, 1808). Essex Institute (1904), 227. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The anonymous enslaved person tallied in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 was Pompey Porter (1752–1833). The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45. The valuation recorded Porter as owning a building identified as a "shop," but doesn't tell us what that shop was used for. Perhaps a workshop of some sort? Would the doctor's patients have come to see him in his "shop," or would they have come to see him in his house?

156 Dane (1824), 412-413, synopsis of Perkins, Town Treasurer of Topsfield vs. Emerson (which erroneously states that Nancy was born in 1759). Moore (1866), 23-24. Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:141, 179, 258. For Emerson/Porter genealogy see Gordon (1900), 136-139; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials 13234098 and 13234101.

See also Holmes (1919), 1-70, a novella written by Topsfield resident Harriet (Emerson) Holmes (1813–1849) set in the year 1813. Holmes was a granddaughter of enslavers Lieut. Thomas (1735–1813) and Lydia (Porter) Emerson (1741–1825). Her novella includes characters based on members of the Emerson family, as well as enslaved man Pompey Porter (1752–1833) and Phyllis Emerson (ca.1778–1851). Phyllis Emerson was the daughter of Nancy Porter (1760–1825); see "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1851:frame 174. For Holmes see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #213354270. Thanks go to James Tanzer for sharing his discovery of this novella.

157 Essex Institute (1904), 227 (Pomp Porter). Cole (1943), 91 (Pompey Black). Cole does not cite her reference for the name "Pompey Black." She may have assumed that—because the record of his parent's marriage intention identified both with the surname Black—Pompey used that surname earlier in life.

158 A. Peabody (1868), 5-7. Phillips (1938), 55-58.

For Peabody see United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1860:541; and S. M. Peabody (1909), 318. One of the two taverns referred to in Peabody's poem was at the corner of Main and Arbor Streets near the current-day site of the Veterans Memorial, kept by John

Thorne Dodge (1764–1851). The other was in the brick house at 188 Main Street, kept by Ezra Lummus (1795–1869). For the site of the John Thorne Dodge tavern see Essex County Deeds 233:243 (John Thorn[e] Dodge Jr. to John Thorn[e] Dodge, mortgage, 1823) and 248:148 (John T. Dodge to the Town of Wenham, mortgage, 1828); and Cole (1943), 17, 99, photograph between 100-101, 120, 138, 139. For the site the Ezra Lummus tavern see Cole (1943), 138.

159 M. O. Allen (1860), 90. Town of Wenham (1959), 21, 22. Although Allen (at 90) contends Pompey fought in the Revolution, there's no corroboration of this in Tyler Porter's 1808 deposition (Essex County Deeds 183:120) or in Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908). Allen (at 84) refers to a record in the state archives of "a negro servant of Tyler Porter," but this reference was for Scipio Lummus, not Pompey Porter. Thanks go to James Tanzer for reconciling this aspect of Allen's research.

160 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1790:690, 1800:563, 1810:52, 1820:212. The 1820 Federal census excluded the tally of Wenham's people of color. The Jonathan Porter (1771–1829, son of Dr. Tyler Porter) household was not included in the 1830 census.

Pompey was apparently the inspiration for the character of an "old negro" man in a novella written by Topsfield resident Harriet (Emerson) Holmes (1813–1849) set in the year 1813:

> Poor old man! [H]e had been blind many years and though he could now perform but few services for those in whose house he had been born; yet his heart was filled with love and gratitude to them because they kindly cherished him in his misfortune. Like all who are deprived of one sense he had cultivated the others until they had become remarkably acute, and his power of hearing was really wonderful.

Holmes (1919), 25-26. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #213354270. Holmes was a granddaughter of Topsfield enslavers Lieut. Thomas (1735–1813) and Lydia (Porter) Emerson (1741–1825).

161 Essex County Probate 22519:6, Will (1811). M. O. Allen (1860), 90. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

162 Although Hardesty's focus is on pre-Revolution Boston, his model replaces the traditional dichotomous conception of enslavement and freedom with a continuum of unfreedom. Hardesty (2016), 2.

163 No people of color were tallied in the 1820 census for Wenham. But not all census-takers recorded everything they were supposed to. In the 1820 Federal census, Wenham's enumeration excludes the column that tallied people of color. The Hamilton document (which is in the same handwriting as Wenham's) also excludes this column. However, the Danvers document, which is written in a different hand, *does* include the column. Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman ca.1770–1859) was the only person of color tallied in the 1830 Federal census for Wenham.

164 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Resolves [1819–1824]*, 601, 731. *Ibid.*, *Resolves [1824–1828]*, 151, 324, 530, 724. *Ibid.*, *Resolves [1828–1831]*, 342, 552. *Ibid.*, *Resolves [1832–1834]*, 213, 516, 688.

Wenham, like other towns in Massachusetts, was reimbursed by the state for the financial support of paupers. "During their lives, when formerly enslaved people … required economic assistance from the town, their former status figured in determining whether the town or the state was responsible for the cost." Bell (2021), 3. Thanks go to Edward L. Bell for sharing his research on state-funded town support of paupers. For more on the topic see Bell (2021), chapter 3.

165 Essex County Deeds 183:120 ([Dr.] Tyler Porter, deposition, 1808), stationed at Prospect Hill, Somerville. Tyng (1851), 675-679. Corcoran (2025), 203-205.

For Samuel Lummus Jr. see Essex County Probate 17356 (Samuel Lummus, 1754) and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #64021452. Tyng (1851) says that enslaver Samuel Lummus died in 1744, but this is a typographical error. For John Lummus and his wife Hannah (Porter) Lummus, cousin of enslaver Tyler Porter, see Porter (1878), 246; White (1900), 1:46, 87-88; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #52846220 and 52846430.

166 *The New England Chronicle; or the Essex Gazette*, Cambridge, MA, July 6, 1775, 4. Bly (2012), 189.

167 Essex County Deeds 183:120 (Tyler Porter, deposition, 1808).

168 *Ibid.* Tyng (1851), 676:

> In 1775, after the commencement of the [R]evolutionary [W]ar, Scipio deserted from his master, and became a soldier in the American army for a short time, when he was reclaimed by his master, who transferred him to T. P., of Wenham, with whom he continue for several years, until, for a consideration in money paid to T. P., *who promised him his freedom*, he again enlisted in the American army as a soldier for the town of Wenham.

Emphasis added.

Scipio served under Lieut. Cornelius Baker (1743–1808) of Wenham, part of Capt. John Dodge Jr.'s (6th) company, 3rd Essex County Regiment mustered at Ipswich. Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 1:472. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54813340. While Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908) includes a Scipio Freeman (at 6:52), that man enlisted from Beverly and was part of a different regiment.

169 He used the name Scipio Porter during 1778 and 1779 while at Fishkill and West Point, New York: Anonymous, MS (1778), 28:155 (frame 167), Wenham #2; R. Putnam, MS (1778), 41:93, #80; Rutgers, MS (1778), 41:94, #82; and McKenney, MS (1779), 48:354. Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 12:608 (Scipio Porter, enlisted at Wenham, served June 19, 1778 through March 19, 1779 at Fishkill and West Point).

He used the name Scipio Lummus in 1779 while at Castle Island, South Boston: Mallon, MS (1779), 25:25 (frame 305), Sipeo Lummux [*sic*] of Winnum [*sic*]; and Mallon, MS (1779), 25:34 (frame 311), Sipio Lummux [*sic*] of Winnum [*sic*]. Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 10:43 (Scipio Lummux [*sic*], private enlisted at Wenham, served October 3, 1779 through November 10, 1779 at Castle Island).

Anonymous, MS (1778), 28:155 (frame 167) describes him as 5' 10" tall and gives his age as 36, indicating birth about the year 1742. But this conflicts with Tyng (1851), 676, which states that Scipio was "now more than seventy years of age" in 1808—which indicates birth between about 1728 and 1738.

170 Tyng (1851), 675-679.

Dr. Porter had manumitted Scipio, so we can assume that Scipio returned to the Lummus household as a free man, presumably working for Lummus for wages. But neither Essex County Deeds 183:120 (Tyler Porter, deposition, 1808) nor Tyng (1851), 675-679 provides clarity on this point.

171 *The New England Chronicle; or the Essex Gazette*, Cambridge, MA, July 6, 1775, 4:

> RAN away from me the Subscriber, on
> Sunday Night the 25th of June, a Negro Man named *Scip*,
> about 30 Years of Age, about six Feet high, well set, speaks good
> English; he hath two Scars on his Temple, between his Eye and
> his Ear: He carried away with him a large Pack, two Suits of

> Cloaths [*sic*], one blue Coat lined with Red, one Coat of a brown Colour, one calico lapel Jacket, a black Jacket, one Pair of Moose-skin Breeches, a Pair of black and white Breeches, besides a great Coat and other Jackets, Shirts and Trowsers [*sic*], and a felt Hat. It is suspected he hath a Pass —- Whoever will take up said Negro and convey him to his Master, or commit him to Gaol [jail], so that he may be returned to me, shall have Four Dollars Reward and necessary Charges paid by me, JOHN LUMMUS.
> Ipswich, June 27, 1775.

The ad provides a reminder that the word "dollar" applied to certain currencies that were in circulation well before the establishment of the United States. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

172 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 188: "[#407]. Sarah a Negro Maid of Dr. Tyler Porter. March 31."

173 *Ibid.*, 39: "[April] 19 – Pomp Porter a black man aged 82." Notice that the vocabulary had shifted from use of the word "negro" to use of the word "black." A possible sign of the times, as the abolitionist movement gained momentum?

174 M. O. Allen (1860), 90.

175 Weston (1906), 104. Piersen (1988), 203. Darby, a man who had been enslaved by the Vassall family in Cambridge and was later manumitted, made the request to be buried with the family of his former enslavers. S. F. Batchelder (1917), 76.

176 Handler, Lange and Riordan (1978), 310, referencing *inter alia*: Northcote (1910), 44; Talbot (1932, 1967), 255; Herskovitz (1938), 1:359; Bascom (1969), 66; and Parrinder (1969), 109. The practice of burying the dead under their houses was sometimes practiced by enslaved people in the Caribbean; see Brathwaite (1971), 216.

177 Two dates assigned by local historian Rupert B. Lillie (1907–1996) for the oldest part of the house are "ca.1688" and "ca.1699." Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.26 (1970). Lille (1976), "Nathaniel Brown Loyalist, c. 1699 [*sic*]" House. The renovation may have been done in 1747. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42. Dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the existing house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure. An inspection of the interior of the house was not done as part of the research for this book.

Title History: 200-acre grant to Francis Felmingham (b. ca.1605) from the town of Salem, the grant awarded in 1637 and laid out in 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 28; and Essex Institute (1868), 54, 58, 59, 64, 103. The grant's boundaries ran approximately from the Hamilton-Wenham town line along the northwest side of Main Street to the current site of the Civil War Monument, then to Pleasant Pond, and then along the town line. Essex County Deeds 13:254 (Richard Hutton, deposition, 1699) and 13:255 (Samuel Moulton, deposition, 1698); S. Perley (1924–1928), 1:449, 464, 2:3, 147; Wenham Historical Society (1930), 51-52; and Cole (1943), 13.

- Note that the abutting property to the south (corresponding to 1 Monument Street) was outside the footprint of the Felmingham Farm and was owned by grantee Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677). Rev. Fiske sold this abutting property to Edward Kemp (d. 1668) in 1650, who subsequently sold it to Rev. Antipas Newman (1627–1672). Essex County Deeds 13:184 (Edward Kemp to [Rev.] Antipas Newman, 1658), first parcel, and deposition of Samuel and Hester Foster appended to the deed; and see 88:122 (John Porter to Jonathan Porter, 1746), third parcel. This property was part of the 150-acre grant that

Rev. Fiske received from the town of Salem in 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 30; and Essex Institute (1868), 67. For additional discussion of this grant see the title histories of the Kemp-Newman-Porter House formerly at 1 Monument Street (endnote 144) and the Porter-Fairfield House at 79 Main Street (endnote 128).

- Essex County Deeds 8:108 [285] (Daniel Kellum [*sic*] Sr. to John Gilbert and Daniel Kellum [*sic*] Jr., 1688), first parcel, is for a 25-acre lot that was to the north of the twelve-acre lot associated with the Henry Hobbs House. This combined 37-acre parcel extended well into the footprint of the Felmingham grant and represented almost one-fifth of the Felmingham 200-acre property. Kilham Way—the road between the Henry Hobbs House and the Civil War Monument—was a road to the Austin Kilham Farm. The Second Meeting House (which was approximately where the Civil War Monument stands) was built on land that Austin Kilham had owned. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 26. Corcoran (2024), 82. See the map on page 90 of this text.

From Francis Felmingham to Henry Chickering (b? d?) probably in 1638; from Henry Chickering to Austin Kilham (ca.1595–1667) probably in 1648 or 1649. Testimony of Lot Kilham at Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:8; S. Perley (1913), 210; and Cole (1943), 14. To Daniel Kilham (ca.1620–1700) by 1667 (Austin Kilham owning only 22 acres at the time of his death per his probate inventory at Essex Institute (1916–1920), 2:100). From Daniel Kilham to his son Daniel Kilham Jr. (1649–1734) via unrecorded deed; see reference to that deed in Essex County Deeds 8:108 [285] (Daniel Kellum [*sic*] Sr. to John Gilbert and Daniel Kellum [*sic*] Jr., 1688), first parcel. Essex County Deeds 8:110 [294] (Daniel Jr. and Sarah Kellum [*sic*] to [Rev.] Joseph Gerrish, 1688), house and twelve acres. Essex County Probate 10761 (Rev. Joseph Gerrish, 1720), :7 Will (1718); and 10743 (Anna Gerrish, 1731), :2 Will (1724), :5 Inventory (1731). Essex County Deeds 55:265 (John and Elizabeth Gerrish to Samuel Kimball, 1731); 55:281 (Samuel and Sarah Gerrish to Samuel Kimball, 1731); 55:282 (Elizabeth Brattle to Samuel Kimball, 1731); 101:238 (James Cheever, guardian, to Samuel Kimball, 1733). (See also Essex County Deeds 77:210 (Samuel Kimball to Ebenezer Batchellor, 1732) for the subdivision of six acres of the Gerrish homestead.) Gap in title history. To Josiah Batchelder (1708–1786) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 123:57 (Josiah and Hannah Batcheller [*sic*] to Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1767); 139:13 (Ebenezer and Hannah Porter to Joseph Woodberry [*sic*], 1781); 139:13 (Samuel and Anna Porter to Joseph Woodberry, 1782); 140:99 (Charles and Abigail Dodge to Joseph Woodberry, 1782); 140:99 (William Adams et al. to Joseph Woodberry, 1782); 139:144 (Joseph Woodberry to Charles Dodge, mortgage, 1782); 140:170 (Joseph and Abiel Woodberry to Josiah Herrick, 1783); 146:83 (Josiah and Mary Herrick to John Friend [3rd] (attorney for Jeremiah Low) and Jonathan Low, 1786); 153:34 (Jonathan and Jeremiah Low to Thomas Lewis, 1791); 153:264 (Thomas and Patty Lewis to Jeremiah Low, mortgage, 1791); 168:32 (Martha Lewis to Elizabeth Greenwood, 1800); 169:167 (Elizabeth Greenwood to Thomas Saunders, 1801); 186:196 (Thomas and Elizabeth Saunders to Henry Elkins, 1806), third parcel; 199:134 (Henry and Preserved Elkins to Paul Porter, 1813); 199:135 (Paul Porter to Henry Elkins, mortgage, 1813); 219:305 (Nathaniel and Betsey Potter to [Capt.] Edmund Kimball, 1819); 219:305 (Paul and Nancy Porter to [Capt.] Edmund Kimball, 1819); 237:88 ([Capt.] Edmund and Lucy Kimball to Moses Foster, 1824); and 235:57 (Moses Foster to [Capt.] Edmund Kimball, mortgage, 1824). Essex County Probate 39472 (Moses Foster, 1858), :6 Inventory (1858). Essex County Deeds 685:11 (Samuel H. and Abigail S. Gould to Franklin Hadley, 1865); 685:133 (Franklin Hadley et al. to Aaron Foster, 1865); 692:108 (Aaron Foster to Lucretia P. Hobbs, 1865); and 692:108 (Henry and Lucretia P. Hobbs to Amos F. Hobbs, mortgage, 1865). Essex County Probate 78955 (Lucretia P. Hobbs, 1896); and 110511 (Henry Hobbs, 1911). Essex County Deeds 3371:443 (Harriet B. Hobbs to Wenham Village Improvement Society Inc., 1944). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "M. Foster" House. Beers (1872), 95,

"H. Hobbs" House. Walker (1884), 87, "H. Hobbs" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "H. Hobbs" House. L. A. Dodge (1944), 1973.52.012. Lille (1976), "Nathaniel Brown Loyalist, c. 1699 [*sic*]" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 1944:115 ("Land of Harriet B. Hobbs, Wenham, Mass.," 1944); and 393:43 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, MA," 2005). *Other References*: July 19, 1893 and June 29, 1912 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, x2017.256 and BHC3051. Cole (1943), 139. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.26 (1970). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42-43. Janes (2011), 34, 36. Corcoran (2023), 51. Corcoran (2024), 49-50, 74-79, 82. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 47-49.

178 Brown was the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Fiske) Brown of Wenham. Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778). Porter (1878), 245. White (1900), 1:27, 51-52. Essex Institute (1904), 70, 95, 157, 187. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 3:150, 4:208. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42-43. Corcoran (2023), 49. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #69172409 and 173166089. Although her name is rendered as "Anna" in some documents, she signed her name as "Anne Brown" in Essex County Probate 3756:3, Receipt (1779).

179 The John Solart House is thought to date to ca.1670. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.91 (1971, 1976). Dendrochronology is needed to confirm the age of the existing structure. An inspection of the interior of the house was not done as part of the research for this book.

Title History: Possibly the 30-acre grant to Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) from the town of Salem, 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 49. Essex Institute (1868), 95-96. Gap in title history. To Christopher Yongs (d. 1647). "A dwelling house with five acres joining to it and ten acres more remote." Inventory (1647), Essex Institute (1911–1975), 1:122; and Essex Institute (1916–1920), 1:77, spelling edited. Essex County Deeds 1:12 [28] (Esdras Reade, executor, to John Sulard [*sic*], 1651[/2]), house and fifteen acres, the deed not indicating that the fifteen acres were in two separate parcels, one of which five acres large and the other ten acres. (Site of the ten-acre lot not determined.) Yongs' house was replaced by the John Solart House at 106 Main Street at an undetermined date. Essex County Probate 25861 (John Soolart [*sic*], 1672), :2 Will (1672), :4 Inventory (1672), "houses [*sic*] and about 20 acres of land with orchard." Essex Institute (1916–1920), 2:283-284. To Ezekiel Woodward (ca.1622–1699) who married John Solart's (d. 1672) widow Elizabeth (-----) Solart (d. 1678) in 1672. Joseph Lovett, administrator, et al. vs. Ezekiel Woodward, 1683, an action brought (but withdrawn) by Solart's heirs due to Woodward's withholding of their inheritance, eight-acre house lot. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 9:6, 111. Essex County Deeds 15:294 (Ezekiel and Sarah Woodward to John Edwards Jr., 1696), "the new house so-called that adjoyneth [*sic*] to the old house in which ye said Woodward now dwelleth" (spelling edited), acreage not quantified. Gap in title history. The remainder of Ezekiel Woodward's interest in the property to John Edwards Jr. (1668–1719); see Essex County Deeds 15:298 (Ezekiel Woodward and Elizabeth (Solart) Woodward, executrix, to John Edwards et al., 1687/8), "all the land that I have in my possession belonging" to the estate of John Solart "which hath not formerly been disposed of." (Essex County Deeds 15:298 may have applied to the Solart's real estate holdings other than the John Solart homestead. If this assumption is correct, perhaps John Edwards Jr. bought out the interests that his surviving uncles and aunts had in the Solart homestead.) Essex County Probate 8610 (John Edwards [Jr.], 1719), :24 Inventory (1719), house, barn and 32 acres. Essex County Deeds 51:57 (John Edwards [3rd] et al. to John Kimball, 1726), first parcel, house, barn and 35 [*sic*] acres. Essex County Deeds 98:195 (John and Charity Kimball to Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1753), house, buildings and 82 acres; 137:71 (Nathaniel [Jr.] and Anne Brown to Ebenezer Porter, 1767), house, barn and 90 [*sic*] acres; 159:28 (Ebenezer and Hannah

Porter to Jonathan Porter, 1793), 90-acre messuage with buildings; 162:117 (Jonathan and Martha Porter to Jacob Dodge [Jr.], 1797), 90-acre messuage; 161:200 (Jacob [Jr.] and Mary Dodge to John Fairfield, 1797), 97 [*sic*]-acre messuage; 161:201 (John and Patty [Martha] Fairfield to Jacob Dodge [Jr.], mortgage, 1797), first parcel; and 164:55 (John and Martha Fairfield to Nathaniel Kimball, 1798), first parcel. Gap in title history. To Benjamin Hawkins (1818–1861) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 418:166 (Benjamin and Eliza A. Hawkins to David Austin Starrett, 1849), first parcel; 426:14 (David A. and Catharine M. Starrett to Nathaniel Kimball, 1850), first parcel. Essex County Probate 44414 (Nathaniel Kimball, 1855), :9 Codicil (1852), bequest to daughter Nancy Batchelder (1811–1895) of the house "I bought of David Austin Starrett," :13 Inventory (1855), "Greenwood Place." Essex County Deeds 878:35 (Nancy Batchelder to William Peabody, 1873); 974:253 (William and Mary A. Peabody to William B. Morgan, 1877); 1034:95 (William B. Morgan, trustee, and Martha A. Morgan to Patrick H. Cavanagh [*sic*], 1880); 2227:398 (Patrick H. Kavanaugh to Charles E. Woodman, 1913); 2721:113 (Charles E. Woodman to Mary L. Woodman, 1927); 4303:196 (Mary L. Woodman to John E. Callely and Mary L. Woodman, 1956); 4526:349 (John E. Callely, conservator, to Edward Woll, 1958); 4526:350 (John E. Callely, conservator, to Edward Woll, 1958); 6427:008 (Edward and Barbara R. Woll to Thomas M. and Tania L. Burger, 1977); 12419:319 (Thomas M. and Tania L. Burger to Tania L. Burger, 1994); and 16399:593 (Tania L. Burger to E. Stanley and Janis C. Dodge, 2000). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "J. Batchelder" House, the occupant being Nathaniel Kimball's son-in-law Joseph Batchelder (1807–1840). Beers (1873), 95, "Mrs. Batchelder" House, the occupant being Nathaniel Kimball's daughter Nancy Batchelder (1811–1895). Walker (1884), "P. H. Cavanaugh [*sic*]" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 33, "P. H. Cavanaugh [*sic*]" House. Lillie (1976), "Ebenezer Porter, Inn c.1670. Home of Sarah (Solart) Good condemned & hung a witch, 1692" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 343:99 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, MA Prepared for Tania Burger," 2000.) *Other References*: February 11, 1891 and December 21, 1900 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, x2017.124 and BHC1791. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 2:317 (John Saleare [*sic*]); 5:138, 288 (Ezekiell [*sic*] Woodward); 8:383-385, 387-388, 435-436 (Ezekiell [*sic*] Woodward). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 22. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 207 (street widening, Nathaniel Kimball). MACRIS, WNH.91 (1971, 1976). Lillie (1984), 40-41. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:9-11. Corcoran (2023), 21, 23-26, 38. Corcoran (2025), 22, 199, 202, 534.

Although it is very possible that enslaved people were part of the Brown household while they lived at the 106 Main Street site, no documents have been found that indicate this.

The Browns also owned the Porter-Fairfield House at 79 Main Street, but as an investment property not as their residence. (In Essex County Deeds 137:71 (1767) Brown identified the house at 106 Main Street as "my now dwelling house.") For Brown's ownership of the Porter-Fairfield House see Essex County Deeds 100:206 (Ebenezer and Hannah Porter to Nathaniel Browne [*sic*] of Salem, 1754) and 124:131 (Nathaniel and Anne Brown to [Dr.] William Fairfield, 1765), but no mention of a house. M. O. Allen (1860), 74. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.12 (1970). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 28-29. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:238.

180 Essex County Probate 3756:13-14, Inventory (1778). The portraits were owned by Anne's brother Ebenezer Porter (1716–1800). Essex County Probate 22449 (Ebenezer Porter, 1800), :10 Will (1799), bequest to son Nathaniel. The current location of the portraits is unknown.

Although their portraits were rare for Wenham, they were not unique. Billy Porter (1739–1813), brother of enslaver Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811), also had his portrait painted. The

date of that portrait and its current location are unknown. An 1893 newspaper article about Wenham's 250th Anniversary celebration noted:

> Upon entering the hall the first object that met the view was the portrait of Capt. Edmund Kimball.
>
> Portraits of other prominent men of the past, suspended upon the wall, were Dr. John Porter, Edmund Kimball, Joseph Cook (for twenty years or more selectmen [*sic*] of Wenham) and Major Billy Porter, who figured in the Revolutionary [W]ar.

"Wenham's 250th Birthday Celebration" (1893).

181 Cole (1943), 68. "Miss Hobbs" was Harriet B. Hobbs, writing in 1935; see L. A. Dodge (1944) and Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42.

Why did men from *Marblehead* take such an interest in Brown's politics?

182 Photographed October 17, 1893 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #0805. The building at right was a harness shop. This image previously appeared in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42.

183 Sampson Brown et al., MS (1779), 72:155. Nobody taught Sampson how to sign his name with words; he had to sign his name with a mark ("+").

184 Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 160. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45.

185 Essex County Probate 3756:9 Will (1774), :10 Codicil (1777), :14 Inventory (1778).

186 *Ibid.*, :9 Will (1774), "my molatto Samson" [*sic*].

187 Essex Institute (1904), 181.

188 Anonymous, MS (1777), 27:111 (frame 521), "belong[ing] to" Wenham but "inlisted [*sic*] or hired" for the town of Manchester. Hodgkins, MS (1777), 48:326 (frame 36), #1. Hodgkins, MS (1778), 10:360, "belonging to" Wenham but "inlisted [*sic*] for" the town of Manchester. Sampson Brown et al., MS (1779), 72:155. Green, MS (1779), 10:353, #12. Houdin, MS (1779), 61:210 (frame 617). McFarland (attributed), MS (1779), 46:160 (frame 237). McFarland and Simmes, MS (1779), 47:248 (frame 439), #37. Maynard and Morris, MS (1779), 47:250 (frame 441), #37. McFarland and Maynard, MS (1779), 46:159 (frame 236), #37. Anonymous, MS (1787), 31:199 (frame 595). Anonymous, MS (no date), 68:71 (frame 605). United States Congress (1834), 62, 110 ("wounded in the hip by a cannon ball, at the capture of Burgoyne's army" September 1777). Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 2:680, 704 (private in Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment, enlisted at Wenham, May 3, 1777, serving through May 20, 1780). Pension File of Sampson Brown, MS (1906), Massachusetts, no identifier, "U.S., Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900," (2010), Brown, Reuben–Brown, Sampson, Ancestry.com database, frames 643-647 (not an application made by Sampson Brown, but rather a record that an application on his behalf was submitted by the Circuit Court of Massachusetts to the House of Representatives in 1792). Valley Forge Park Alliance (2023), MA29661. Corcoran (2025), 47-49.

189 Boston Overseers of the Poor, MS (1733–1925), reel 8, box 9, folder 3, images 239, 264. The admission and discharge records for Sampson Brown "a negro" were for him alone and not also a wife or child(ren). United States Census Bureau, Suffolk County, 1790:60. The three-person household tallied for Brown supports a scenario of a wife (Patience?) and child. If that was the case, his wife's residence while Sampson was living at the almshouse hasn't been determined.

190 United States Congress (1834), 9:62, 110.

191 When Nathaniel Brown Jr.'s probate inventory was made in 1778, Abner (who was identified as "one negro man servant") was assessed at 80% of the value of an anonymous "maid servant." Essex County Probate 3756:14. That an enslaved man was assessed at a lower value than an enslaved woman tells us that Abner wasn't able to do as much work, indicating that he was either rather older or perhaps incapacitated. Assuming the Abner in the White household was baptized as an infant (given the history of baptisms of his siblings), he would have been about 26 years old in 1778. Consequently, either there were two Abners, or there was one Abner who wasn't able to do the amount of work that others his age were expected to do.

See also page 25 of this text

192 Salem, Massachusetts Town Records, MS (date? 1667–1981), box 6, folder 2, 92-95. "Warnings to Negroes in Salem in 1790" (1908), 96. Bower (2022).

193 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Corcoran (2023), 51-52.

Might Lazarus have been taken captive during the French and Indian War of 1754–1763?

194 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

195 Hodgkins, MS (1777), detail.

196 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 201: "[#]329. May 30. Lazarus an Indian Servant of Nath^{l}: Brown Esq^{r}" and "[#]342. July 12. a negro Infant belonging to Nath^{l}. Brown Esq^{r}."

197 Represents the volume of individuals whose baptism, owning of the covenant, admission, wedding and/or death was recorded by the church or recorded by the minister with the town clerk.

198 Piersen (1988), 53-54.

199 Pompey and Nancy—children of Scipio and Sarah in the Jonathan Porter household—were baptized in 1752 and 1755, before their father Scipio was baptized in 1757. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42, 46, 47. Essex Institute (1904), 84. There is no baptismal record for Sarah with the Wenham Congregational Church. But it is possible that she was baptized elsewhere (prior to Pompey's baptism) and subsequently moved into the Porter household.

200 The site of the First Meeting House has been a source of confusion.

- In 1642 Samuel Smith (d. 1642) and Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) each gave the town (which wasn't yet legally a separate town) ten acres of land on either side of the First Meeting House. Smith's parcel abutted land owned by Phineas Fiske (ca.1600–1673) as well as a swamp.

  > There is given unto Wenham Twenty acres of ground being laid out of eyther [*sic*] side of ye meeting house. Ten acres given by M^{r} Smith out of his fearme [*sic*] & laid out by him beginning with the bounds at ye upper end of Phinehas [*sic*] Fiske Lott [*sic*] & soe [*sic*] to ye swampe [*sic*]: & the other Ten acres given by M^{r} John Fiske being laid out Joyneing [*sic*] to it on ye other side of ye meeting house[.]

  Wenham Historical Society (1930), 4. See also Perley (1924–1928), 2:147, 153-154.

- Essex County Deeds 1:27 [66] (John Shepley [*sic*] to William Fiske, 1655) describes a ten-acre parcel that indicates the First Meeting House was on a spot 100 poles (1650 feet) to the north of a mill that was on Alewife Brook (the stream that once exited Wenham Lake, now swamp):

> ye 28: 2 mo: 1655
> John Shepley of Wenham hath sould [*sic*] unto Will[m] ffiske [*sic*] of ye same [town] A dwelling house with an outhouse & tenn [*sic*] Acres of ground Joyning [*sic*] to it lying in Wenham butting with a bound tree by ye mill & soe [*sic*] running up to ye meetting [*sic*] house due North a hundred pole & sixteene [*sic*] pole wide to Robert Gowings Lott Eastward wth [*sic*] ye Appurtenances wood & timber waters & fences &c. for a full some [*sic*] in hand paid according to agreemt [*sic*] as appears by a deede [*sic*] dated ye 28: 2 mo: 1655

- Town of Ipswich, MS (1639–1695), 1:179 (exchange of land between Edward Spaulding and John Sola [*sic*], 1656), documented the exchange of two half-acre lots in Wenham, one of which being part of John Solart's (d. 1672) orchard abutting the highway on the west (i.e., Main Street) and "the lane leading to the meeting house" on the south. The John Solart House is at 106 Main Street; see Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:9-10.
- Mansfield (1844), at 23, described the First Meeting House as being on a hill behind the house owned and occupied by Dea. Nathaniel Kimball (1770–1855). M. O. Allen (1860), at 26, 160 and 195, described it as being on the hill behind the house occupied by Kimball's granddaughter's husband Henry Tarr (1824–1891). Both Mansfield and Allen were referring to the house site at 98 Main Street, Tarr having built a house on the site where Kimball's house had stood. Essex County Deeds 553:009 (Edward L. and Sarah Kimball to Henry Tarr, 1857). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:227, 421. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.93 (1972). Some have interpreted the hill that Mansfield and Allen were describing as the hill to the east of 106 Main Street, roughly 320 feet east of the road. Others have proposed a site just to the southwest of the end of Friend Court.

One other detail is relevant to this discussion. In 1680 the selectmen and Capt. Thomas Smith Jr. (1643?–1688) laid out a ten-acre parcel that included a militia training field on a site where Town Hall is today. (The 1680 description of the ten-acre parcel included "the pond near Mr. Gerrish's house," which was filled in for construction of Town Hall.) Wenham Historical Society (1930), 52-53. Spelling edited. See M. O. Allen (1860), 98. This parcel was originally part of the Samuel Smith Farm, Capt. Thomas Smith Jr. having been a grandson of Samuel Smith. (Bequest from Samuel Smith to son Thomas Smith, 1642, at Essex Institute (1911–1921), 1:45-47 and Essex Institute (1916–1920), 1:18-21. Essex County Deeds 6:62 [379] (Samuell [*sic*] Smith to [Capt.] Thomas Smith [Jr.], 1679), the farm (acreage not quantified) occupied by Alexander Maxcy.) The 1642 description of the Smith's ten-acre gift to Wenham (Perley (1924–1928), 2:153) indicates that Samuel Smith's gifted parcel abutted a swamp. Indeed, one can see how a ten-acre parcel in the vicinity of Town Hall would have abutted a swamp that is to the east of the properties along the east side of Friend Court.

So how do we reconcile all these clues?

Louis A. Dodge (1886–1968) sited the First Meeting House between the properties at 16 Friend Court and 130 Main Street. Dodge correctly understood that this site was adjacent to the boundary between Samuel Smith's and Rev. John Fiske's farms, Dodge identifying the combination of 132 Main Street, most of 130 Main Street, and 0 Old Country Road as a roughly 9 ½-acre "Fiske Lot." L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (1958), 1973.52.015. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.004. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.011. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.023. Dodge assumed that this 9 ½-acre Fiske Lot was the ten-acre lot that Rev. Fiske gave the town in 1642. Dodge also assumed that the ten-acre militia training ground given in 1680 was the same lot as the ten-acre gift that Samuel Smith gave the town in 1642. However, both of Dodge's assumptions were incorrect.

F. W. Batchelder (1944), at 2, convincingly identified the site of the First Meeting House as the hill behind the Club House at the Wenham Country Club, basing his analysis on the

100-pole metric provided in Essex County Deeds 1:27 [66]. (The congregation has had a practice of celebrating Sunrise Service on Easter Sunday at the site that Batchelder identified, in the belief that this was indeed the site of the First Meeting House. But this practice began in 1965 and was informed by Batchelder's research. Hauck (2013), 248. This practice is not in itself a clue as to the site of the First Meeting House.)

The Second Meeting House was 24 feet long, 24 feet wide, and twelve feet from the ground to the eaves. M. O. Allen (1860), 26, mistakenly thought it was built on the site of the First Meeting House, but a careful reading of the town clerk's records show that it was built on a site near the subsequent site of the Civil War Monument, on the current-day greenspace between 135 Main Street and Main Street itself. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 18, 22, 26, 50, 51-52.

Cole (1943), opposite her page 146, mistakenly thought the Third Meeting House was on the site of the first one, on Tarr's Hill. But Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940) 28-30, 32-33 and Essex County Deeds 91:102 (Ebenezer Batcheller [*sic*] to Josiah Batcheller [*sic*], 1747) make it clear that it was adjacent to current-day Main Street. For construction date see Wenham Historical Society (1930), 85-86, 88-89.

The Fourth Meeting House was 52 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 24 feet from the ground to the eaves. The Fifth (current) Meeting House "was placed a little in the rear of the place occupied by [the Fourth Meeting House]." M. O. Allen (1860), 197-199, 201-202. For construction date see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 113 (first baptism, #345); and Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 91-92, 94-96.

201 Mather (1706). See Piersen (1988), chapter 5, for a discussion of the conversion of enslaved people to Christianity.

202 L. A. Dodge, MS (no date), 1998.163.016A. L. A. Dodge, MS (no date), 1998.163.016B. L. A. Dodge, MS (no date), 1998.163.016D. Hauck (2013), 354. Base map by Google Maps. The outline of the Fifth Meeting House reflects a fifteen-foot lengthening of the building done in 1853. M. O. Allen (1860), 202. For more on Kilham Way see Wenham Historical Society (1930), 26 and Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 28-30.

203 Dodge, Lamson and Burnham, MS (no date). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2023.160. See also Lillie (1955).

The south door was the front door to the building. Essex County Deeds 229:250 (David Standley Jr., guardian, to Charles Holden, 1822), third parcel; 229:250 (Charles and Sarah Holden to Andrew Ober, mortgage, 1822), third parcel; and 235:219 (Mehetable [*sic*] Dodge et al. to Aaron [Jr.] and James Lee, 1815. Additional pews were along at least two of the walls (the east and the south) in the second-floor gallery. Town of Wenham (1977), 103-110, 123. In 1807 the town voted to sell two-thirds of the first-floor pews that were owned by the town on either side of the "great aisle." Later that year the town rescinded its vote and voted instead to sell three-quarters of the pews. Town of Wenham (1959), 204-205.

Wenham native Aaron Lee (1832–1916), son of pew #36 owner James Lee (1793–1862), wrote of the Fourth Meeting House:

> A little box about 10x12 inches with glass door in front, hanging by the side of the door, was always a source of attraction, as it contained the names of those in the township who intended to marry after two weeks' publishing in this box, the notice reading about like this :
>
> > "Notice is hereby given that James Brown and Martha Day of Wenham intend Marriage.
> > Wenham, June 10th, 1842.— Stephen Dodge, Town Clerk."

> The pulpit was a high structure in [the] back end of the great church. The pews were nearly square, about 7x9 feet, with seats around the inside, inclosed [*sic*] all around, also [with a] door that buttoned on the outside. Each family had their own pew. I was only a little boy but was pleased when the long sermon ended, for I really did not like to be confined in so small a place and was anxious for the nice ride home.

Lee (1915), 14.

As for the floor plan shown here, the first of the three appraisers was Allen W. Dodge (1804–1878), a justice of the peace whose signature also appears on the last page of Wenham's 1850 Federal census return. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:210-211. Further research is needed to identify appraisers John Lamson and Francis Burnham.

The plan appears to have been drawn after 1834, based on Rufus A. Dodge's tenure as a member of the church. "R. A. Dodge," owner of pew #9, was Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875) who was admitted as a member of the church in 1834. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. For more information on Dodge's church membership, including his purchase of a pew in the Fifth Meeting House, see endnote 669.

Data associated with certain pews, as labeled in the floor plan, support the hypothesis that the plan was drawn after 1834.

- Pew #4: [Dea.] Nathaniel Kimball (1770–1855). Admitted a member in 1809; made a deacon in 1826; purchased a pew in 1827. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 169. Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:227. Town of Wenham (1977), 83 (Isaac Woodberry Jr. to Nathaniel Kimball, 1827). Findagrave.com, memorial #62892557.
- Pew #22: Thomas Kimball [3rd] (1789–1845). Purchased a pew in 1823. Essex County Deeds 233:86 (Edmund and Mary Kimball to Thomas Kimball [3rd], 1823, fifth parcel; and 233:86 (Thomas Kimball [3rd] to Edmund Kimball, mortgage, 1823). Findagrave.com, memorial #61938087.
- Pew #23: Downing Gently [Gentlee] (1780–1854). Purchased a half interest in a pew in 1826; admitted a member in 1832. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Essex County Deeds 247:261 (Benjamin and Joanna Gentlee to Downing Gentlee, 1826), fourth parcel. "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903: 1854:frame 188.
- Pew #35: Charles Holden (1798–1874). Purchased a pew in 1822; admitted a member in 1826. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 171. Essex County Deeds 229:250 (David Standley Jr., guardian, to Charles Holden, 1822), third parcel; and 229:250 (Charles and Sarah Holden to Andrew Ober, mortgage, 1822), third parcel. Findagrave.com, memorial #134015394.
- Pew #36: James Lee (1793–1862). Purchased a half interest in a pew in 1815; admitted a member in 1827. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Essex County Deeds 235:219 (Mehetable [*sic*] Dodge et al. to Aaron [Jr.] and James Lee, 1815). Findagrave.com, memorial #60956139.
- Pew #40: Simeon Friend (1780–1860). Wife Hannah (1784–1862) admitted a member in 1826; purchased a pew in 1827. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 171. Town of Wenham (1977), 82 (Caleb Kimball Jr. to Simeon Friend, 1827). Findagrave.com, memorials #62116729 and 62116608.
- Pew #41: David Standley (1797–1870). Admitted a member in 1826. No deed found for the purchase or sale of a pew; might he have rented his pew? Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 171. Findagrave.com, memorial #60960976. But see Town of Wenham (1977), 82 (Caleb Kimball Jr. to Simeon Friend, 1827) which indicates this pew was owned by David Woodberry (bp. 1775–1853) by 1827: Does this mean the floor plan

was drawn in 1826, or did Standley rent the pew from Woodberry? No deed found for the purchase or sale of a pew by Woodberry.

204 M. O. Allen (1860), 90, 199-200. See also Wenham First Congregational Church (1879), 18.

For the 1737 epidemic see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 127; Henchman, MS (1737); M. O. Allen (1860), 129, 135, 179; Perley (1888), 2:1232; Caulfield (1939), 219-272, 277-335; and Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:122. Thanks go to James Tanzer for sharing his hypothesis that the 1737 epidemic may have been a catalyst that fueled local revivalism.

205 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 77, 82, 83, 112, 127, 144. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 47, 51, 52, 59, 62, 64, 70, 71, 75, 100, 103, 114. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:45-46, 284-285. An inspection of the interior of the house was not done as part of the research for this book, and dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the existing house, if any, incorporates the earlier structure.

206 *Title History*: 200-acre grant to Samuel Smith (d. 1642) from the town of Salem, 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 13, 20, 31; and Essex Institute (1868), 24, 47, 69. Bequest from Samuel Smith to son Thomas Smith (d. before 1655), 1642. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 1:45-47; and Essex Institute (1916), 18-21). Essex County Deeds 6:62 [379] (Samuell [*sic*] Smith to [Capt.] Thomas Smith [Jr.], 1679), the farm (acreage not quantified) occupied by Alexander Maxcy; 20:162 (Capt. Thomas [Jr.] and Rebeccah [*sic*] Smith to Robert Symonds, 1685); 8:174 [625] (Robert and Thomasin Symonds to Capt. Thomas Smith [Jr.], mortgage, 1685); 11:4 (Robert and Thomasin Symonds to John Wainwright, mortgage, 1694); 21:42 (Robert and Tamson [*sic*] Symonds to Joseph Dodge, 1708), first parcel (the first deed that makes reference to the house). Symonds' property—although not his house—is mentioned in 11:34 (Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith to [Capt.] Thomas Clarke, mortgage, 1695) and 11:204 ([Capt.] Thomas Clarke et al. to Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith, 1695). Essex County Deeds 38:139 (Joseph and Martha Dodge to Faithfull [*sic*] Bartlett, 1721), first parcel; and 39:56 (Faithfull [*sic*] and Ann Bartlett to [Rev.] Robert Ward [Jr.], 1721), first parcel, the farm occupied by Ebenezer Kimball (1680–1769). Essex County Probate 28926 ([Rev.] Robert Ward [Jr.], 1732), :9 Will (1732). Essex County Deeds 67:189 (Margaret Ward, executrix, to [Rev.] John Warren, 1733). Essex County Probate 28982 (Rev. John Warren, 1749), :15 Inventory (1749[/50]), :36 Settlement of Real Estate (1761), :41 Division of Real Estate (1778), references to the parsonage. Essex County Deeds 110:48 (John Warren [Jr.] to [Rev.] Joseph Swain, 1761); 123:107 ([Rev.] Joseph and Elizabeth Swain to Isaac Giddings [Jr.], 1767), first parcel; 132:33 (Isaac [Jr.] and Elizabeth Giddings to Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1771), first parcel. Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778), :13 Inventory (1778). Essex County Deeds 140:28 (Thomas Brown, executor, to Nathan and Pelatiah Brown, 1782). Essex County Probate 3756:16 Additional Account of Administrator (1783). Essex County Deeds 154:225 (Nathan and Elizabeth Brown to Pelatiah Brown, 1792), second parcel; 258:114 (William Brown and Pelatiah Brown [Jr.], administrators, to Ezra Lummus, 1830); and 258:114 (Elizabeth Brown to Ezra Lummus, quitclaim, 1830). Gap in title history. To Elizabeth Cogswell (Beckford) Davis (1801–1884) in 1837 or 1838, but deed not recorded. The property is identified as being owned by Lummus in 306:190 (Edmund and Mary W. Kimball to John and Elizabeth C. Davis, 1837), first parcel, but owned by Davis in 308:86 (Elizabeth C. Davis to Jacob Symonds, 1838), first parcel, and 308:87 (Jacob and Anna B. Symonds to Elizabeth C. Davis, mortgage, 1838), first parcel. Essex County Deeds 602:245 (Elizabeth C. Davis to Mary E. Conant, 1860); 602:246 (Mary E. Conant to Elizabeth C. Davis, lease, 1860); 2693:190 (Emma L. Conant to William Endicott Greer, 1926), first parcel; 2709:22 (William Endicott Greer to Lester E. Libby, 1927), first parcel; 2733:94 (Lester E. and Georgie E. Libby to Alice

L. Walker, 1927); 3346:277 (Robert W. and Samuel Walker to Guy W. Jr. and Virginia H. Walker, executors, 1943); 3356:512 (Virginia H. and Guy W. Walker Jr., executors, to John and Esther E. Fairfield, 1943); 3990:284 (John and Esther E. Fairfield to Bertha N. Allen, 1953); 3990:285 (Bertha N. Allen to Esther E. Fairfield, 1953); 4001:43 (Esther E. Fairfield to Philip M. and Lea C. Reynolds, 1953); and 7141:553 (Lea C. Reynolds to Jerome C. Hunsaker 3rd, 1983). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "Mrs. Davis" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. E. Davis" House. Walker (1884), 87, "Mrs. Davis" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "Estate M. Conant." Essex County Deeds Plan 40:31 ("Plan of the Charles L. Allen Farm, Wenham, Mass.," 1924), "Emma Conant" lot. *Other References*: For Elizabeth C. Davis see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #58976-677. Various deeds (e.g., 3990:285) refer to the property as the "Lucy Davis Place;" Lucy H. Davis (1835–1935) was a daughter of Elizabeth C. Davis. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63495328.

207 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 13, 189. Essex County Probate 28982 (Rev. John Warren, 1749). Essex Institute (1904), 16, 81, 97, 168, 173, 221, 223. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:58, 327. Essex Institute (1925–1926), 1:352. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #51095180, 125884474 and 19387576. In 1751 Elizabeth (Chipman) Warren married secondly Wenham minister Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792).

208 Essex County Probate 28982 (Rev. John Warren, 1749), :15 Inventory (1749[/50]) and :18 Account of Administrator (1751), "sale of two negro's" [*sic*]. Buyer not recorded. Note that this probate file erroneously contains documents from the probate file of John Tufts of Amesbury.

209 Essex Institute (1904), 40, 123, 124, 200. Essex Institute (1910), 1:158. Giddings and Giddings (1998), 69-71. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:160; 2:230, 241. Elizabeth was probably an unrecorded daughter of Zaccheus and Tabitha (Dodge) Goldsmith, married in Wenham in 1724; see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41 and Essex Institute (1904), 105, 126.

210 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

211 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66: "[#]135. March. 8. Flora Mollatto [*sic*] Servant of Mr. Isaac Giddings."

212 Davison purchased six acres in 1760 from Ebenezer Batchelder (1710–1781) (no mention of a house in the deed), a lot that became the northeast corner of the farm. He did not record the deed(s) for his purchase of the other ten acres. For identification of the farm see Essex County Deeds 107:246 (Ebenezer Batcheller [*sic*] to William Davidson [*sic*], 1760); 114:56 (William and Martha Davison to Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1763); and 116:136 (Nathaniel [Jr.] and Anne Brown to Daniel Kilham Jr., 1764). Gap in title history. To Maj. Andrew Dodge (1791–1876) and his brother Ezra Dodge (1794–1872) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 350:296 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to Charles Abraham Kilham, 1844), no buildings; 559:239 (Charles A. and Hannah F. Kilham to Josiah P. Creesy [Jr.], 1857); 715:142 (Josiah P. [Jr.] and Eleanor H. Creesy to Amos Gould, 1866); 903:62 (Amos and Angelina Gould to William S. Cummings, 1874); and 1494:481 (William S. and Margaret L. Cummings to Lester E. Libby, 1896), recorded anew at 1517:64 (1896). For subdivision of the lot at 28 Perkins Street: 1503:151 (Lester E. and Georgia E. Libby to Mary L. Glavin, 1897); 1503:152 (Mary L. and Timothy F. Glavin to William S. Cummings, mortgage, 1897); 1718:107 (Timothy F. and Mary L. Glavin to William S. Cummings, 1892); 1881:294 (William S. and Margaret L. Cummings to Alice L. Trefry, 1893); and 1718:109 (Charles L. and Alice L. Trefry to William S. Cummings, mortgage, 1893). *Maps*: L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.032. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.033. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.034. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.039. L. A. Dodge (attributed),

MS (no date), 1971.10.070. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.095. Although the Hales map of 1825 showed houses, that map is not as reliable as Walling's map of 1856. The road that would become Perkins Street does not appear on Hales' map but does appear on Walling's. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 170. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 50, 117.

The Davison House was not the Mildram/Fisk[e]/Young House shown on early maps. Walling (1856), "M. Mildram" House. Beers (1872), 95, "A. R. Fisk" House. Walker (1884), 87, "B. Young" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "B. F. Young" House. The Mildram/Fisk[e]/Young House was actually the Pelatiah Brown House prior to its relocation to its current site further away from the road. See Essex County Deeds 293:200 (William Brown et al. to Moses Mildram, 1836); 293:201 (Asa Lamson and Peter E. Webster, guardians, to Moses Mildram, 1836); 800:141 (Moses Mildram to Albert R. Fiske, 1870); 881:245 (Albert R. and Elizabeth W. Fiske to Martha C. Young, 1873); and 2581:40 (Horace E. Durgin, administrator, to Grace P. Lunt, 1923). Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.43 (1970). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 80-81. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 42, 44-45.

The Davison House was not the unlabeled house shown on Walling (1856), or the "Geo. Alley" House shown on Beers (1872) and Walker (1884), immediately to the east of the Mildram/Fisk[e]/Young House. See Essex County Deeds 559:239 (Charles A. and Hannah F. Kilham to Josiah P. Cressy [*sic*] [Jr.], 1857); 771:110 (Josiah P. [Jr.] and Eleanor H. Creesy to Horace P. Abbott, 1869); 771:111 (Horace P. Abbott to Josiah P. Creesy [Jr.], mortgage, 1869); 821:133 (Josiah P. [Jr.] and Eleanor H. Creesy to George Alley, 1871); and 1554:339 (Henry Alley, administrator, to Kate Alley, 1898).

213 Alboth (2024), whose family has lived on Perkins Street since 1951. See also Appendix J. The section of the house closest to the road is said to have been used for housing of enslaved people, but it should be noted that this section of the house has a cinder block foundation, and no structure appears on this site in the Beers map of 1872. The interior of the house was not inspected during the research phase of this book.

214 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 45, 46, 49. Essex Institute (1903), 156, 197, 247. Essex Institute (1904), 19, 189. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 83, 207. He may have been the son of Daniel Davison who was baptized in Ipswich in 1727. Coles (1899), 19-20; and Essex Institute (1910), 1:111). No probate file in Essex County.

215 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67. Essex Institute (1904), 189, 226.

216 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67: "[#]90 [April] 22. Lemmon negro girl of W^{m} & Martha Davison."

217 Boundaries of the Davison Farm are described in Essex County Deeds 114:56 and 116:136. The Pelatiah Brown Farm is described in 113:207 (Jonathan Kimball to Palatiah [*sic*] Brown, 1761) and 113:207 (Jonathan Kimball to William Brown and Palatiah [*sic*] Brown, 1765). See also Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 42, 44-45. See also 559:239 (Charles A. and Hannah F. Kilham to Josiah P. Creesy [Jr.], 1857) for the abutting Daniel Kilham Farm. For C1 see Essex County Deeds 107:246, 114:56 and 135: 61-62. For C2 see Essex County Deeds 135:61-62 and 350:296. For C3 see Essex County Deeds 135:61-62, 384:9, 384:175, 435:245 and 450: 20. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.070. Current-day Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. Solid-line boundaries represent high conviction, while dotted-line boundaries are lower conviction.

218 The house had a gambrel roof and "was burned down around 1820." Winthrop, MS (1899). Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921) thought that the house burned "about 1824." Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #18.

Title History (Wenham Portion of the Farm): 200-acre grant to Francis Felmingham (b. ca.1605) from the town of Salem, the grant awarded in 1637 and laid out in 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634−1720), 28; and Essex Institute (1868), 54, 58, 59, 64, 103. The grant's boundaries ran approximately from the Hamilton-Wenham town line along the northwest side of Main Street to the current site of the Civil War Monument, then to Pleasant Pond, and then along the town line. Essex County Deeds 13:254 (Richard Hutton, deposition, 1699) and 13:255 (Samuel Moulton, deposition, 1698); S. Perley (1924–1928), 1:449, 464, 2:3, 147; Wenham Historical Society (1930), 51-52; and Cole (1943), 13. From Francis Felmingham to Henry Chickering (b? d?) probably in 1638; from Henry Chickering to Austin Kilham (ca.1595–1667) probably in 1648 or 1649. Testimony of Lot Kilham at Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:8; S. Perley (1913), 210; and Cole (1943), 14. Gap in title history. To Thomas Fiske (bp. 1630–1707) but deed not recorded. (Essex County Deeds 11:16 (John Kellum [*sic*] to Thomas Fiske, 1661) and 41:181 (Samuel Gott to Thomas Fiske, 1702) appear to be describing parcels that were near the lot that would become the site of the Thomas Brown Jr. House, but not the house lot itself.) Essex County Deeds 20:47 (Thomas Fiske to Nathaniel Browne [*sic*], 1707). Nathaniel Brown (ca.1677–1759) identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Deeds 49:270 (John Gilbert and Daniel Killam [*sic*] to John Perkins, 1708). "Brown" (no first name) identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Probate 21416 (Thomas Perkins, 1749), :17 Settlement of Real Estate (1754). Essex County Probate 3754 (Nathaniel Brown, 1759), :3-4 Will (1758[/9]), bequest to sons Thomas Brown (b. 1699) and John Brown (b. 1712), daughter Elizabeth Kimball (b. 1702) and children of daughter Mary White (b. 1715) of "my now Dwelling House & Barn Situate Partly in Wenham & Partly in Ipswich & the out houses thereunto belonging & Twenty acres of Land adjoyning [*sic*] to s'd buildings," :8 Inventory (1759). Gap in title history. To Nathaniel Brown's grandson Thomas Brown Jr. (1721–1795) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 135:61-62 (Thomas [Jr.] and Elizabeth Brown to John Gardner Jr., 1777), first parcel, the two pages having been rebound in incorrect order. Essex County Probate 10635 (Capt. John Gardner [Jr.], 1805), :6-7 Will (1794), bequest to unnamed grandchildren. Essex County Deeds 195:300 (Henry Blanchard to Francis Blanchard, mortgage, 1812); and 199:245 (Henry Blanchard to Francis Blanchard, 1813). Essex County Probate 2599 (Francis Blanchard, 1813), :2 Will (1813), bequest to daughter Eliza Cabot Blanchard (1809–1842). Essex County Deeds 332:14 (Robert C. and Eliza Cabot Winthrop to John R. Adan, 1841); 332:15 (John R. Adan to Robert C. Winthrop, 1842); 341:95 (Robert Charles Winthrop to [Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge, 1843); 340:144 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge to Robert C. Winthrop, mortgage, 1843); 384:9 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to John Mildram, 1847); 384:175 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to James Owens, 1847); 435:245 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to Francis Peabody, 1849); 437:67 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to Joseph Andrews, 1848); 450:20 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to Samuel B. Nichols, 1850); 782:24 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to [Capt.] Edmund Kimball, 1852); and 782:25 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ezra Dodge et al. to [Capt.] Edmund Kimball, 1854), first parcel. Essex County Probate 37530 ([Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1876), :8 Will (1870), :13 Inventory (1876), bequest of the remainder of the "Winthrop Estate" to daughter Mary Ann Dodge. *Maps*: Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #18. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.032. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.033. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.034. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.039. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.-070. Lillie (1976) provides two sites for the Thomas Brown [Jr.] House. His rationale for the

northwest site hasn't been determined; his southeast site appears to be based on Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #18, although Conant sited the house closer to Main Street. *Other References*: Corcoran (2024), 50, 87-88. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 37-39, 50-51.

219 Thomas Brown Jr. was the son of Thomas and Abigail (Kimball) Brown, and nephew of Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778). He was born in Wenham in 1721. See Essex County Deeds 135:61-62 (the two pages having been rebound in incorrect order), in which Thomas Brown [Jr.] refers to a brother John and a son Abraham, clues that allow us to put Thomas in genealogical context. Son Abraham was born in Wenham in 1750; brother John was baptized in Wenham in 1731. Perley (1908), 158, 162. Worcester County Probate 8363 (Thomas Brown [Jr.], 1795). White (1900), 1:27, 51. Essex Institute (1904), 14-15, 95. Essex Institute (1910), 1:336, 2:65, 394. Corcoran (2025), 51.

220 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

221 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63: [#]207 April 12th: an Infant Negro Child of Thomas Brown."

222 John Kilham (1710–1774) owned two different houses, the First John Kilham House and the Second John Kilham House. For the latter see Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 27, 63. For John Kilham see Perley (1913), 220.

Title History (First John Kilham House): The house was very close to the boundary between the 80-acre grant to James Smith (ca.1592–1660 or 1661) from the town of Salem and the 30-acre grant to Smith's son-in-law Samuel Aborne (ca.1611–1699), both grants being made on the same day in 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 40; and Essex Institute (1868), 82. Smith gave Aborne a ten-acre lot out of Smith's grant that abutted Aborne's grant. By 1641 the ten-acre lot was owned by John Fairfield (ca.1610–1646) and Joseph Batchelder (ca.1604–1647). By about 1652 it was owned by Peter Palfrey (ca.1605–1663) and Richard Pettingell (ca.1620–after 1695). Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:206, 207. The ten-acre lot was merged with the Samuel Aborne Grant at an undetermined date. The expanded Samuel Aborne Farm came to be owned by Srgt. Richard Hutton (ca.1617–1713) by 1695. Hutton identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 11:34 (Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith to [Capt.] Thomas Clarke, mortgage, 1695); 11:204 ([Capt.] Thomas Clarke et al. to Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith, 1695); 13:168 (Joseph Fowler [Jr.] to Nathaniel Brown, 1695), second parcel; and 16:218 (John and Elizabeth Browne [*sic*] to [Capt.] Samuel Kemball [*sic*] Jr., 1702). In 1706 Hutton gave the property to his grandsons Richard Fowler (ca.1680–1718) and Hutton Goldsmith (bp. 1690–ca.1751). Essex County Deeds 18:219 ([Srgt.] Richard Hutton to Richard Fowler and Hutton Goldsmith, 1706), second parcel. Fowler acquired his cousin Hutton Goldsmith's interest in the property, although Fowler did not file a deed when he did so. Richard Fowler's farm was subdivided in 1718 after his death; the former ten-acre Samuel Aborne lot was the site of the widow's thirds (second parcel) of Richard Fowler's estate. Essex County Probate 10076 (Richard Fowler, 1718), :22 Settlement (1729), widow's thirds (second parcel) to Miriam (Balch) (Fowler) Day (1683–1743), acreage not quantified. Gap in title history. To Daniel Kilham 3rd (1676–1746), Kilham being identified as an abutter owning property in this location in Essex County Deeds 85:246 (Joseph Fowler Jr. [*sic*] to Daniel Killam Jr. [*sic*, 3rd], 1743[/4?]), second parcel. By inheritance from Daniel Kilham 3rd (1676–1746), who died intestate, to his sons Daniel Kilham 4th (1703–1787) and John Kilham (1710–1774). Essex County Deeds, 89:9 (Daniel Killam [*sic*] [4th] to John Killam [*sic*], 1746), first parcel, no mention of house (this deed and Essex County Deeds 9:8 (John Killam [*sic*] to Daniel Killam [*sic*] [4th], 1746) being the Kilham brothers' settlement of their father's real estate holdings); 92:165 (John and Mary Killam [*sic*] to Samuel Rogers, 1748),

first parcel, including house; and 98:87 (Samuel Rogers to Andrew Cole, 1753), first parcel. Essex County Probate 5963 (Andrew Cole, 1787), :13 Inventory (1787). Essex County Deeds 156:270 (Asa Cole et al. to [Capt.] John Gardner, 1792). Essex County Probate 10635 (Capt. John Gardner, 1805), :6-7 Will (1794), bequest to unnamed grandchildren. Essex County Deeds 195:300 (Henry Blanchard to Francis Blanchard, mortgage, 1812); and 199:245) (Henry Blanchard to Francis Blanchard, 1813). Essex County Probate 2599 (Francis Blanchard, 1813), :2 Will (1813), bequest to daughter Eliza Cabot Blanchard. Essex County Deeds 332:14 (Robert C. and Eliza Cabot Winthrop to John R. Adan, 1841); 332:15 (John R. Adan to Robert C. Winthrop, 1842); 340:200 (Robert Charles Winthrop to George W. Dodge, 1843); and 641:289 (George W. and Mary Ann Dodge to Thomas P. Pingree 3rd [*sic*], 1862). Essex County Probate 50340 (Thomas P. Pingree, 1876), :6 Will (1868). Bequest of Harriet E. Pingree to Marion D. Callahan, 1915. Essex County Deeds 2412:242 (James G. and Marion D. Callahan to Randolph B. Dodge, 1919); 2803:56 (James G. Callahan and Robert D. Brewer, trustees, to Gordon C. Prince, 1929); and 7368:303 (Francis C. Welch et al., executors, to Joseph W. and Anna P. Haley, 1984). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "G. Dodge" House. Beers (1872), 95, "T. P. Pingree" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "T. P. Pingree" House (site). Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #17½. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "Mrs. H. E. Pingree" House (site). Essex County Deeds Plan 2412:242 ("Plan of Land on Main St., Wenham, Mass.," 1919). Lillie (1976), "Andrew Cole" House. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.009.L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.033. *Other References*: Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.57 (1972). Corcoran (2024), 50, 89-90. Corcoran (2025), 21, 23, 53, 133.

For the abutting nineteen-acre parcel see Essex County Deeds 127:27 (Nathaniel Fairfield to Samuel Cole, indenture, 1769), first parcel; 127:24 (Samuel Cole vs. Nathaniel Fairfield, 1770), first parcel; 129:273 (Samuel Cole to Benjamin Dodge, 1771); 129:273 (Benjamin and Mehitable Dodge to Samuel Cole, 1771); and 131:109 (Samuel and Sarah Cole to Andrew Cole, 1771). Although the 1769 and 1770 documents don't mention a barn, the 1771 deed does. Perhaps this was the barn that Nathaniel Fairfield hired housewright Nathaniel Bragg (1701–1790) to build; see Bragg and Towne, MS (1741–1820), 84.

223 Essex County Probate 5963 (Andrew Cole, 1787). Essex Institute (1904), 17, 49, 99, 134, 188. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:82, 2:65, 177. Perley (1913), 220. Hardon (1932), 65. Corcoran (2025), 53.

224 Essex County Deeds 98:87 and 131:109. Essex County Probate 5963:12, Inventory (1787), "mariner." Essex Institute (1904), 188.

225 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 65. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

226 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42, 65. Essex County Probate 29607 (Josiah White, 1761), :7 Inventory (1761). White (1900), 1:57. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181.

227 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 65: "[#] 147. Decemb: 12. Deborah Negro of Andrew Cole."

228 Essex County Deeds 98:87 (Samuel Rogers to Andrew Cole, 1753), first parcel; 127:27 (Nathaniel Fairfield to Samuel Cole, indenture, 1769), first parcel; 127:24 (Samuel Cole vs. Nathaniel Fairfield, 1770), first parcel; 131:109 (Samuel Cole to Andrew Cole, 1771); and 156:270 (Asa Cole *et al* to John Gardner, 1792). Local historian Rupert B. Lillie (1907–1996) recorded that the mill building was on the east bank of the Miles River, and that he saw granite stones scatted along that bank. Lillie, MS (no date). Current-day Wenham and Hamilton

property maps by CAI AxisGIS via Wenham-ma.gov and Hamiltonma.gov. Solid-line boundaries represent high conviction, while dotted-line boundaries are lower conviction.

229 Essex Institute (1868):119. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:8, 205-207. Cole (1943), 16-17. Ganz (2013), 7-8, 43-46, 65, 68, 123. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:83.

230 *Title History*: 80-acre grant to James Smith (ca.1592–1660 or 1661) from the town of Salem, 1639. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 40; and Essex Institute (1868), 82. From James Smith to William Fiske (b. ca.1614) in 1639 or 1640; from William Fiske to Samuel Smith (d. 1642) in 1639 or 1640; from Samuel Smith to John Fairfield (ca.1610–1646) in 1640. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 2:293 and 7:8. Will (1646) and Inventory (1647) of John Fairfield; see Essex Institute (1911–1975), 1:116-119.

- The property was subsequently the subject of dispute. For lease by Peter Palfrey (ca.1605–1663) to Richard Coy in 1658 see Essex Institute (1911–1975), 2:263-264; 3:207-208. See Walter Fairfield vs. Richard Hutton (1661) at Essex Institute (1911–1975), 2:292-294 and Essex County Deeds 2:11 [34] (Walter Fairfield, Claim, 1661). See William Browne, executor, vs. Capt. Thomas Fiske (1678) at Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:7-10. See Walter Fairfield, attorney to William Browne executor, vs. Richard Hutton (1679) at Essex Institute (1911–1975), 7:205-207. Ganz (2013), 53-57.

Inventory (1672) of John Fairfield Jr.; see Essex Institute (1911–1975), 5:118. Essex County Deeds 33:123 (Walter Fairfield to Walter Fairfield Jr., 1718); 56:151 (Walter [Jr.] and Judith Fairfield to Daniel Fairfield, 1730), first parcel; 56:152 (Daniel and Remember Fairfield to Ebenezer Kimball, 1730), first parcel; and 74:133 (Ebenezer and Elizabeth Kimball to Josiah White, 1733), first parcel. Gap in title history. To Josiah's brother John White (1707–1781) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 103:28 (John and Elizabeth White to [Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1756), first parcel. Essex County Probate 15516 ([Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1766), :8 Inventory (1766). Essex County Deeds 134:108 (Benjamin Kimball [Jr.] et al. to John Lovering and John Lovering Jr., 1768). Essex County Probate 17904 (John Lovering, 1769), :3 Will (1768), :8 Inventory (1769); and 17905 (John Lovering [Jr.], 1794), :6 Will (1793), :10 Inventory (1794). Essex County Deeds 302:102 (Mary Lovering et al. to Jacob Symonds, 1837); 321:175 (Jacob and Anna B. Symonds to Allen Putnam, 1840); 365:111 (Allen Putnam to George H. and Lemuel S. Foss, 1846); and 433:60 (George H. and Lemuel S. Foss et al. to Emerson P. Dodge, 1851), first parcel. To son Charles Emerson Dodge (1851–1935) per Essex County Probate 213908 (Emerson P. Dodge). Charles E. Dodge's heirs sold the house lot in 1952: Essex County Deeds 3946:417 (Winslow B. and E. Maud Dodge to Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez, 1952); 3946:419 (Irvin E. and Lillian L. Foster to Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez, 1952); 3947:314 (Charles H. and Effie I. Dodge to Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez, 1952); 3952:538 (Elizabeth G. and Walter J. Cummings to Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez, 1953); and 3960:225 (Martha F. Goodrich et al. to Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez, 1953). Essex County Deeds 3979:229 (Henry F. and Elizabeth J. Larchez to Henry F. Larchez, trustee, 1953); and 4399:573 (Henry F. Larchez, trustee, to Stuart S. Golding, 1957). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "E. P. Dodge" House. Beers (1872), 73, "E. P. Dodge" House. Walker (1884), 103, "E. P. Dodge" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 1607:547 (Charles E. Dodge to David Pingree, 1900); 2004:175 (Charles E. Dodge to Boston & Maine Railroad, 1910); 31:11 ("Land in Hamilton & Wenham, Mass. Conveyed to Lester E. Libby," 1917); and 76:99 ("Plan of Walnut Street from Main Street to the Wenham Line in the Town of Hamilton," 1946). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "C. E. Dodge" property. Lillie (1976), "John Lovering (orig. John Fairfield, 1638)" House. *Other References*: For White family genealogy see White (1900), 1:56-58. For Kimball genealogy see Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:113, 211-212. For Emerson P. and Charles E. Dodge see Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #46206470 and 52978339.

231 Essex County Probate 9197 (Walter Fairfield, 1723). Essex Institute (1904), 196. Baldwin (1912), 336, 442. W. C. Fairfield (1953), 8-10. Ganz (2013), 24-25, 33.

232 J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:24. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 5:275-276, 310-311. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 8:18, 20, 436. Corcoran (2023), 23-26, 30.

233 Wenham Historical Society (1938), 80.

234 Essex County Probate 9197:2, Receipt (1726). For Freeborn Balch's residence in Beverly see Essex County Probate 1540 (Freeborn Balch Sr., 1729); Perley (1902), 3; Perley (1919), 97; and Ganz (2013), 120-121. See also Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52888690.

235 Essex County Probate 9197:2:

> Janawary [*sic*] 29th 1725/6
> Then recei'd of brother William ffaierfeild [*sic*] as adminr of the Esstatt [*sic*] of his father Walter faierfeild [*sic*] of Wenham deceased the sume [*sic*] of £24-05-6 : Eleven pound [*sic*] of which sume [*sic*]; is in sattisfaction [*sic*] in full for keeping the ould [*sic*] Negro man belonging to the Esstate [*sic*] of the sd faierfeild [*sic*] deceased I say received by me
>
> his
> ffreeborn b Balch
> mark

236 Essex County Deeds 103:28, second parcel. Essex County Probate 15516:2 Receipt (1767) signed by Hannah Kimball and witnessed by Elizabeth Gott. Andrews (1890), 203, 211. Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:113. Pierce (1898), 366. Essex Institute (1904), 48, 86, 90, 121, 125, 131, 135, 206, 207, 208. Topsfield Historical Society (1905), 48, 158, 169. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:32, 177. Topsfield Historical Society (1912), 1:168, 2:140, 209. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 1:39, 3:52, 434. Corcoran (2023), 47. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #162436755. Kimball was using the title Ensign by 1747; see Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 88, 98, 99.

237 Essex County Probate 15516:8 Inventory (1766).

238 Sanborn Map Company (1916), 3.

239 Fairfield owned 50% of the enterprise and Fiske and White each owned 25%. (Fiske was later also involved with the Dodge Mill Complex in Wenham Neck.) We know that White's Sawmill was in operation by 1672 because Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) sued Fairfield, Fiske and White that year when the mill dam caused the river to flood Dodge's meadow. (The court record identifies Dodge as "John Dodge Jr." so as to distinguish him from the somewhat older Lieut. John Dodge (1631–1711).) The sawmill was out of operation by 1686 and the selectmen gave permission that year to build a gristmill on the site, but the gristmill was not built at that time. The sawmill was back in operation by 1724, when Thomas White Jr. (1664–1740), Walter Fairfield Jr. (1672–1756) and Nathaniel Fairfield (ca.1682–1771) agreed to complement the sawmill with a gristmill. Their agreement noted that the mill complex's dam was an earthen dam, that White and the Fairfields would build "highways" across their respective properties to access the mill complex, and that White and the Fairfields would build "landing places" (staging areas) adjacent to the complex on either side of Miles River.

For full history of ownership see Appendix E. Essex County Deeds 134:108 (Benjamin Kimball [Jr.] et al. to John Lovering and John Lovering Jr., 1768) refers to the road that "leads to White's Mill formerly so called now Dodge's [Mill]," which is the earliest indication found for Peter Dodge's ownership of the mill complex. Essex County Probate 9193 (Nathaniel Fairfield, 1771), :3-5 Account (1771), :7 Account (1772); and 7945 (Peter Dodge, 1795), :12 Will (1785). White (1900), 1:9-16, 18-20, 28-29, 57-58. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 5:46.

Wenham Historical Society (1930), 60-61, 83, 84. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 209-212. Town of Wenham (1959), 157. *Maps*: R. Dodge, MS (1795). Hales (1825). R. C. Allen (1938). L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.009. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.033. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.024. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.025. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.027. Lillie (1976), "Peter Dodge Saw Mill & Corn Mill." *Other References*: L. A. Dodge (1968), I-4, 8. Ganz (2013), 49-50. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:36-39 (reference to the "1685" permission to build a gristmill being a typographical error). For Batchelder's drowning see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63; J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:55; Pierce (1898), 417; and Essex Institute (1904), 186.

240 Unidentified photographer. White (1900), 1:opposite 10. The caption of the photograph reads: "Site of the Mill-dam in Wenham on the John White place."

241 Unidentified photographer. White (1900), 1:opposite 11. The caption of the photograph reads: "The Brook, from the Garden of the Wenham Homestead."

242 R. Dodge, MS (1795).

243 *Title History*: 60-acre grant to John White (d. 1673) from the town of Salem, 1639; and 40-acre grant to John White from the town of Salem, 1643. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 45, 62; Essex Institute (1868), 90, 118; and White (1900), 1:9. From John White to son Thomas White (ca.1633–1672), and from Thomas White to Rev. Antipas Newman (1627–1672). Town of Ipswich, MS (1639–1695), 1:218 [581] (Thomas White to [Rev.] Antipas Newman, 1658). Gap in title history. To John White (d. 1673) but deed not recorded. Bequest from John White to daughter-in-law Ruth White (ca.1632–1713) and grandson Thomas White Jr. (1664–1740), 1673; see will transcribed at White (1900), 1:13. Essex County Deeds 12:16 (division of property between Ruth White and Thomas White [Jr.], 1697); 79:169 (Thomas White [Jr.] to Josiah and John White, 1732); 79:73 (Thomas White [Jr.] to Josiah and John White, 1737[/8?]); and 81:26 (John and Mary White to Josiah White, 1740). White (1900), 1:16, 18-20, 28-29, 56-58. Cole (1943), 17-18. Essex County Probate 29607 (Josiah White, 1761), :2 Will (1760), bequest to sons. Gap in title history. To Peter Dodge (1724–1795) but deed not recorded; see White (1900), 1:57. (Peter Dodge acquired an interest in the adjacent White's Mill Complex by 1768; see Essex County Deeds 103:28 (John and Elizabeth White to [Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1756), second parcel.) Essex County Deeds 353:156 (Jonathan Dodge to Peter Dodge [Jr.], 1804); 352:229 (Theodore Dodge et al. to Thomas P. Pingree, 1845); 352:231 (Amos Brown, guardian, to Thomas P. Pingree, 1845); 524:107 (Thomas Perkins Pingree to Asa Pingree, mortgage, 1851); and 678:266 (Asa Pingree, possession, 1865). Essex County Probate 50329 (Asa Pingree, 1869), :35 Inventory (1869), :38 Will (1867), bequest to nephews Thomas P. Pingree (1830–1876) and David Pingree (1841–1932). Essex County Deeds 971:48 (Harriet E. Pingree to Anna Maria Pingree et al., 1877); 977:109 (Anna Maria Pingree et al. to David Pingree, 1877), second parcel; 1225:380 (David Pingree of Salem to David Pingree of Wenham, 1888); 2479:559 (David Pingree to Frederick Ayer, 1921); 6640:237 (Ann Ayer MacNichol et al. to Walter G. Van Dorn, trustee, 1979); 6640:246 (Walter G. Van Dorn, trustee, to New England Board of Higher Education, 1979); 7134:13 (Sias Nominee Trust, declaration of trust, 1983); 7134:21 (New England Board of Higher Education to Sias Nominee Trust, 1983); 8984:351 (Neil R. Ayer to Joseph A. Leone and Erika D. Meimaridis, 1987); 9727:570 (Joseph A. Leone and Erika D. Meimaridis to Joseph A. and Erika T. Leone, 1988); 12932:138 (Joseph A. and Erika T. Leone to Erika T. Leone, 1995); and 16062:350 (Erika T. Leone to Kevin G. and Margaret A. Puopolo, 1999). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "T. P. Pingree" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. A. Pingree" House, the house occupied by Asa Pingree's widow Mary Catharine (Kilborn) Pingree (1817–1880). Walker (1884), 87, "Mrs. A. Pingree" House. Conant (attributed),

MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #23¾. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 32, "D. Pingree" property, no house shown. Essex County Deeds Plan 1607:547 (Land of David Pingree, 1900); 155:37 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass., Estate of Hilda R. Ayer," 1979); and 215:38 ("Plan of Equestrian Land in Wenham, Mass., Prepared for Sias Nominee Trust," 1986), sheet 2. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.033. *Other References*: April 29, 1891 and November 11, 1893 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, x2017.158 and BHC837. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 5:174-176, 212-214. White (1900), 1:9, 13, 16, 28-29, 56-58. Cole (1943), 17-18. Corcoran (2024), 99-104. Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 56-59, 228, 232. For Pingree genealogy see Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #193384598, 193385882, 193388774, 204011150 and 234951411.

Note that the house currently at 60 Walnut Road is not on the site of the White-Dodge-Pingree House. Rather, the house at 60 Walnut Road is the "D. P. Dodge" House in Walling (1856), Beers (1872), 95 and Walker (1884), 87. It is the building shown closest to the road on the "C. D. Sias" property in Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35.

244 Essex County Deeds 74:133 (Ebenezer Kimball to Josiah White, 1733), second parcel; 79:73 (Thomas White [Jr.] to Josiah and John White, 1737), second parcel; 81:26 (John and Mary White to Josiah White, 1740); and 81:27 (Josiah and Sarah White to John White, 1740), second parcel. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:36-39. See Appendix E.

245 Essex County Probate 29606 (Josiah White, *non compos mentis*, 1759); 29607 (Josiah White, 1761); and 29609 (Lois White, 1777). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:55 (incorrect Elizabeth Kimball), 67. White (1900), 1:56-58. Essex Institute (1904), 82, 120, 133, 136, 160, 176, 224. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:599. Essex Institute (1928), 1:180, 384, 426.

246 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42. Essex County Probate 29607: 7 Inventory (1761). White (1900), 1:57. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181. The file for Essex County Probate 29606 (Josiah White, *non compos mentis*, 1759) was opened in December 1759 when White was living in Wenham, which implies that White (who died in Beverly) moved to Beverly in 1760 or 1761. Deborah appears in White's estate inventory, consequently, after the move to Beverly; it is an assumption that she was part of the White household when White was still living in Wenham. Note that White's probate inventory included one set of "Negro[']s bead [*sic*] and bedding."

247 Unidentified photographer. White (1900), 1:opposite 9. The caption of the photograph reads: "Wenham Homestead on the farm granted to John White in 1639; now, 1900, owned by Mr. David Pingree."

248 Unidentified photographer. White (1900), 1:opposite 956 The caption of the photograph reads: "Driveway of the Wenham Homestead." The woman in the image is unidentified. Based on Conant's 1891 photograph (B. H. Conant Collection, x2017.158) we can determine that the unidentified woman is walking along Walnut Road.

249 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42. Essex County Probate 29607: 7 Inventory (1761); and 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778), :9 Will (1774), :10 Codicil (1777), :14 Inventory (1778). White (1900), 1:57. Essex Institute (1904), 84. The file for Essex County Probate 29606 (Josiah White, *non compos mentis*, 1759) was opened in December 1759 when White was living in Wenham, which implies that White (who died in Beverly) moved to Beverly in 1760 or 1761. Abner appears in White's estate inventory, consequently, after the move to Beverly; it is an assumption that he was part of the White household when White was still living in Wenham. Note that White's probate inventory included one set of "Negro[']s bead [*sic*] and bedding."

250 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 42: "[#]46. July 19. Abner Son of Sharper Negro Servt. to Saml. Gott, & of Deborah Sert. to Josiah White."

251 White (1900), 1:57-58, 347-349. Essex Institute (1904), 82, 145, 224, 175. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:215. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #33250117. Corcoran (2025), 196, 226-231.

For move to Ohio see Essex County Deeds 156:283 (Kindall and Bridget Flint to Haffield White, 1793), in which Haffield is identified as living in Marietta, Ohio; Essex County Probate 29574 (Haffield White [Jr.], 1793), :2 Administrators' Bond (1793) signed by Haffield White of Marietta et al.; and Hildreth (1860), 234. (Essex County Deeds 156:283, recording the 1793 sale of a three-acre house lot in Salem to Haffield White, is eye-opening: it describes the Salem house lot as being adjacent to "a negro['s] house.")

252 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 202. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

253 For ownership of the mill complex see Appendix E. Essex County Deeds 103:28 (John and Elizabeth White to [Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1756) refers to the road that "leads to White's Mill formerly so called now Dodge's [Mill]," which is the earliest indication found for Peter Dodge's ownership of the mill complex. R. Dodge, MS (1795). Essex County Probate 7945 (Peter Dodge, 1795). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:31, 48, 55. Pierce (1898), 386, 417. White (1900), 1:57. Essex Institute (1904), 28, 91, 111, 190, 192. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:92, 114, 2:30, 97, 98. Essex Institute (1909–1910), 2:27, 79. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:36-37. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #19383037 and 19383069. For drowning of William Batchelder Jr.: Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), 2:46 (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 260); Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63; J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:55; Pierce (1898), 417; Essex Institute (1904), 186; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60541207.

254 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 64.

255 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 22. Scipio was also tallied (anonymously) in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. The presence of an enslaved person in the Peter Dodge household was erroneously omitted from Pruitt (1998), 162.

256 Kenney et al., MS (1839); see Appendix I.

257 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 202: "[#]318. April 1. a young Negro child of Mr. Haffield White." 64: "[#]179. Nov: an Infant negro child of Peter Dodge."

WENHAM NECK & EAST WENHAM

WENHAM NECK extends from Miles River to the area near Coy's Pond. East Wenham is that part of town at Coy's Pond and eastward. "The Neck," as a place name, was in use by 1644.[258] The origin of the name is pretty straightforward: the Neck is where the footprint of Wenham's town boundaries narrows. But when the name was coined, the Neck was even narrower than it is today. Until 1667 (when the town of Beverly broke off from Salem), the portion of the town line between Wenham and Beverly that was east of Wenham Lake was further north of today's town line. That stretch of the town line ran along Alewife Brook (the stream that once exited Wenham Lake, now swamp) and Longham Brook.[259] The footprint of the town, consequently, was very wide in the West End but rather narrow along Grapevine Road. By the time enslavement was a practice in Wenham, however, the Beverly-Wenham town line was sited where it is today.

During the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries "the Neck" and "the East End" were used interchangeably. By the 1790s, though, the area around Coy's Pond and eastward came to be called "Little Comfort." Said to be named after resident Comfort Preston, "Little Comfort" as a place name has fallen out of use.[260]

Eleven houses have been identified in Wenham Neck and East Wenham that were the workplace-residences of enslaved people, two of which—the Josiah Dodge Jr. House and the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House—are still standing. Fourteen enslavers owned these houses, and 50 enslaved members of their households have been identified. Wenham Neck was also the site of the Dodge Mill Complex (which was likely the workplace of enslaved members of six households) as well as three sites where enslaved people are thought to be buried.

1. Waldren-Brown House
2. Josiah Dodge Jr. House
3. Skipper Dodge House
4. Burial Ground
5. Possible Burial Ground
6. Dodge Mill Complex
7. Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) House
8. Thomas Dodge House
9. John Edwards House
10. Daniel Claflin House
11. Jonathan Hobbs House

12. Pompey's Island
13. Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House
14. Lieut. William Dodge House
15. John Coy House

● Surviving house
○ Former site, high conviction
□ Former site, medium conviction
△ Former site, low conviction
◇ Former site unknown

Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. Most sites are on private property.

1. The Waldren-Brown House, Formerly West of 80 Larch Row

- *Residence of Archelaus in the Edward Waldren Jr. household by 1750*
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved person in the Edward Waldren Jr. household by 1771*

In 1696 Nathaniel Waldren (ca.1659–1751) bought properties that were south of Larch Row and to the west of Miles River. He built a house along Larch Row soon after.[261] Subsequent owners of the house included enslavers Edward Waldren Jr. and Nathan Brown.

Edward Waldren Jr. (1727–1822), Nathaniel Waldren's grandson, expanded the farm to approximately 60 acres.[262] A farmer, he sold his property in 1777 and moved to Sterling, Massachusetts.[263] He was married three times: to Abigail Brown (1728–1791), the intention of their marriage published in 1749; to Hannah (maiden name unknown, ca.1752–1789), the date of their marriage not recorded; and to Sarah Bartlett (d. 1833) in 1798. Edward and his first wife had eight children, four of whom died during childhood.[264]

Edward had two enslaved people in his household:

- Archelaus (ca.1714–1789) was in the Waldren household by 1750. That year Waldren sold Archelaus to Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). More information about Archelaus appears on pages 154-156.[265]
- Waldren had a different enslaved person (name and gender unrecorded) in his household in 1771.[266]

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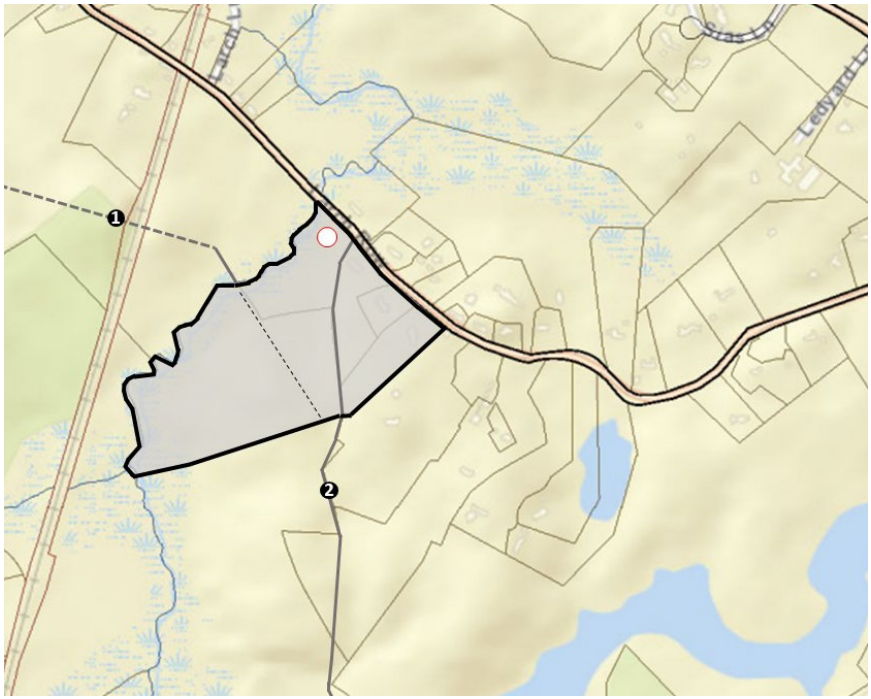
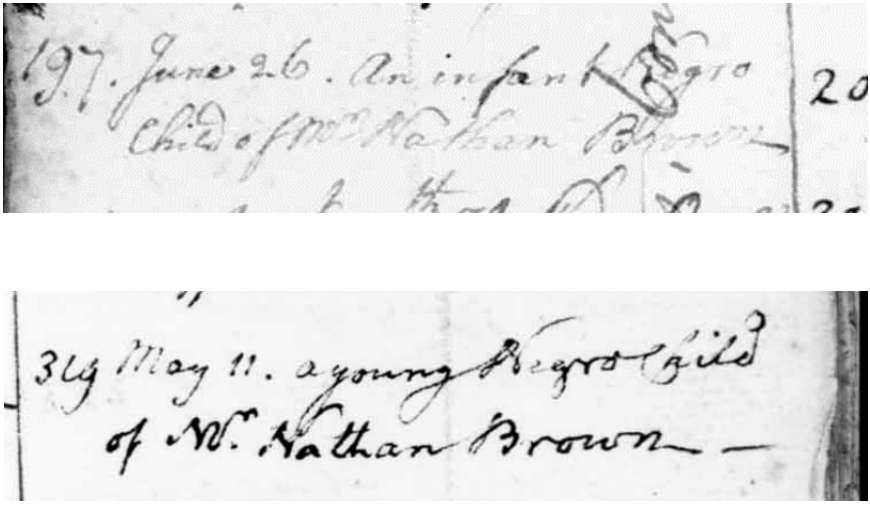
Nathan Brown (d. 1792), a farmer, bought the Waldren-Brown House in 1784. He married Elizabeth Low (bp. 1742?), the intention of their marriage published in 1767. In his will he identified his wife Elizabeth, son Nathan Jr., daughter Mary, deceased son James, and grandchildren Nathan 3rd, James, Isaac, Aaron, Lydia and Mary. Executors were son Nathan Brown Jr. and Capt. Pelatiah Brown (whose family relationship with the deceased, if any, is not explained in the probate file). But despite the genealogical clues, his parents and birth record have not been found.[267]

He had at least two enslaved people in his household. An anonymous enslaved infant died while part of the Brown household in 1772 and an

anonymous enslaved child died in 1775.[268] However, the Browns' residence prior to 1784 hasn't been determined.



The Edward Waldren Jr. Farm, 1746. The farm was divided into two lots at Waldren's death. Road 1 is the notional course of the road from the (Third?) Meeting House to local landmark Abbey's Bridge. Road 2 is the road from Larch Row to the Haggett Farm, i.e., the farm to the northwest of current-day Longham Reservoir.[269]



Records of the deaths of the anonymous enslaved infant (1772) and child (1775) in the Nathan Brown household, whose residence at that time is unknown.[270]

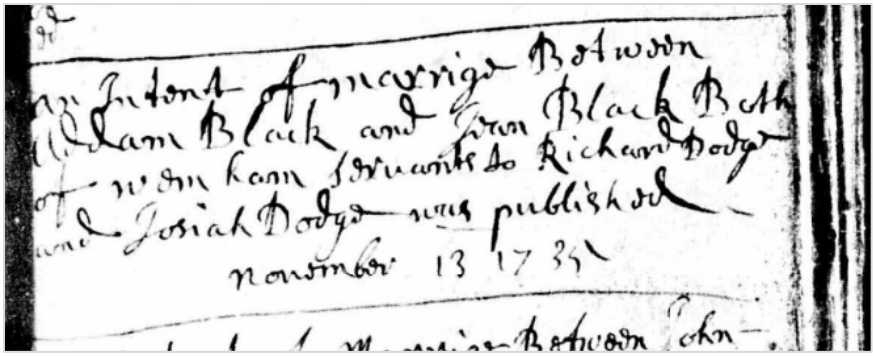
2. The Josiah Dodge Jr. House, Formerly Near 107 Larch Row, Later Moved to 156 Larch Row

- *Residence of Jean ("Jenny") Black in the Josiah Dodge Jr. household by 1735 and through at least 1741*
- *Likely residence of Phyllis Black in the Josiah Dodge Jr. household in 1739*
- *Likely residence of Adam Black Jr. in the Josiah Dodge Jr. household in 1742*
- *Residence of Adam Black in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1743 but absent by 1758*
- *Possible residence of an anonymous man (formerly in the Barnabas Dodge household) in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household after 1752, but, if so, absent by 1758*

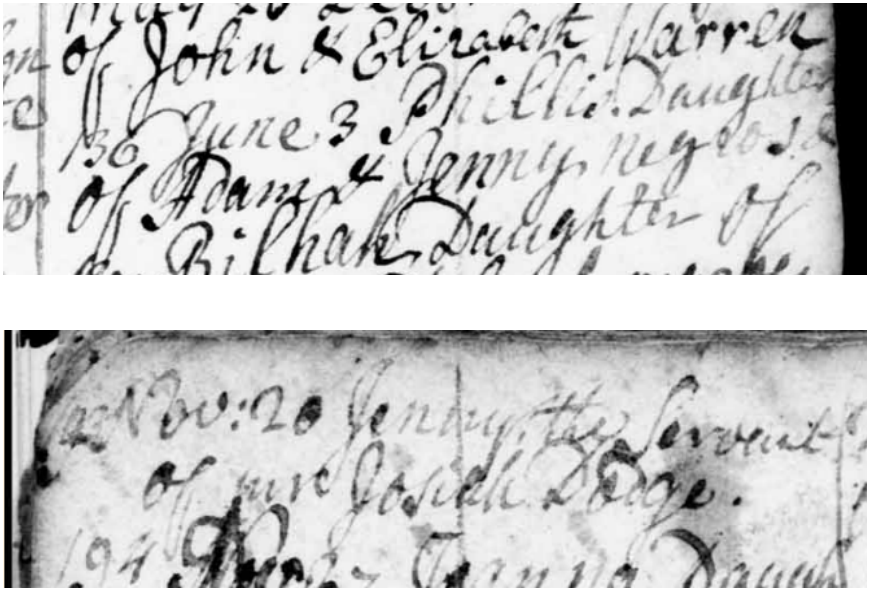
- *Residence of Archelaus in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household from 1750 through 1789*
- *Residence of Daniel in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1768 and through at least 1778*
- *Residence of Eli in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1773 and through at least 1776*
- *Residence of Jethro in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1773 and through at least 1775, but absent by 1781*
- *Residence of an anonymous man in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1775*
- *Residence of an anonymous infant in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1779*
- *Residence of Violet in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1788*
- *Residence of two anonymous boys in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household by 1792*

Josiah Dodge Jr. (1698–after 1772) lived on a 25-acre farm here until 1743 when he moved his family to Lunenburg. His father-in-law Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) bought the farm, added an abutting lot of about fifteen acres, and in 1752 gave the expanded 40-acre farm to William's son (Josiah's brother-in-law) Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792).[271] The house was moved during the 1920s to 156 Larch Row.[272] Both Josiah Dodge Jr. and Capt. Jacob Dodge had enslaved people in their households.

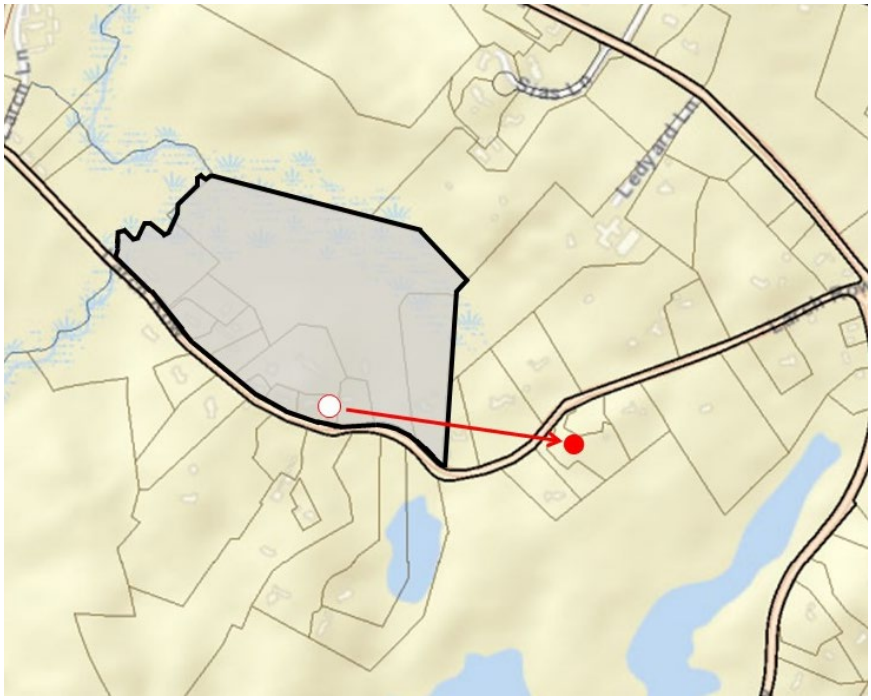
Josiah Dodge Jr. was a tanner and may have had his tan yard on this property. He married Prudence Dodge (b. 1701 d. 1768–1772) in 1718. They had ten children.[273] An enslaved woman named Jean Black was part of the Dodge household in 1735 when she married Adam Black, an enslaved man in the Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) household.[274] Jean, who also used the name "Jenny," was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1741.[275] Adam and Jean/Jenny had two children, both of whom were baptized by the Wenham church: daughter Phyllis baptized in 1739 and son Adam Jr. baptized in 1742.[276] The baptismal records do not include the names of the children's enslaver(s), but it is likely that the children lived with their mother in the Josiah Dodge Jr. household.



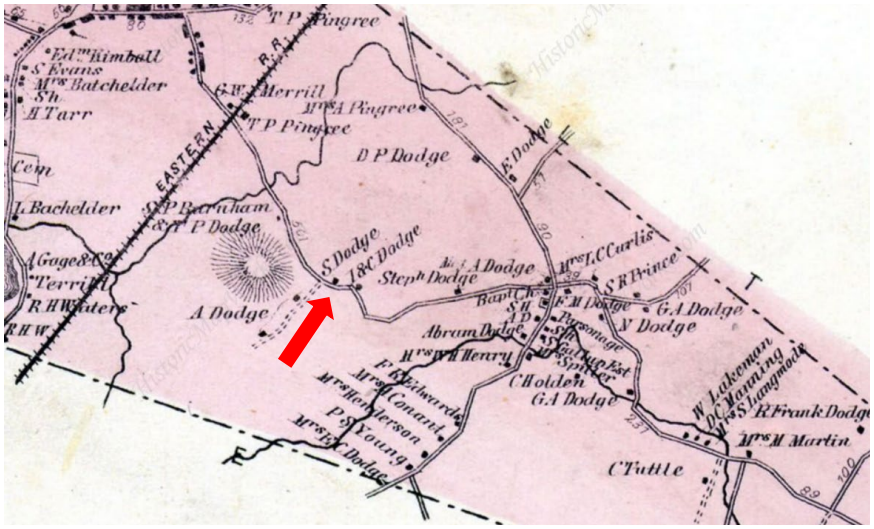
Town clerk's record of Adam Black and Jean Black's intention of marriage, 1735.[277]



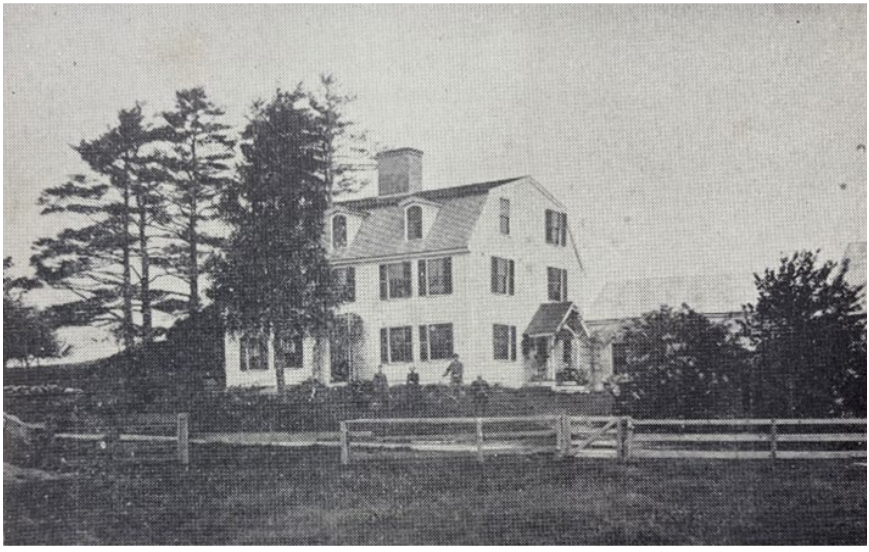
Records of Phyllis' and Jean's/Jenny's baptisms, 1739 and 1741.[278]



The Capt. Jacob Dodge Farm, which included the former Josiah Dodge Jr. Farm. In 1743 Josiah Dodge Jr. sold his house and 25-acre homestead to his father-in-law Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765). Lieut. William gave that property and an abutting fifteen acres to his son Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) in 1752, forming the 40-acre farm shown here. The house was moved to its current location during the 1920s.[279]



Original location of the Josiah Dodge Jr. House. Simeon Dodge 3rd (1840–1905) bought the house in 1865. It is labeled as the "S. Dodge" House in this 1872 map.[280] A photograph of Simeon appears on page 336.



The Josiah Dodge Jr. House, photographed before it was moved to its current site.[281]

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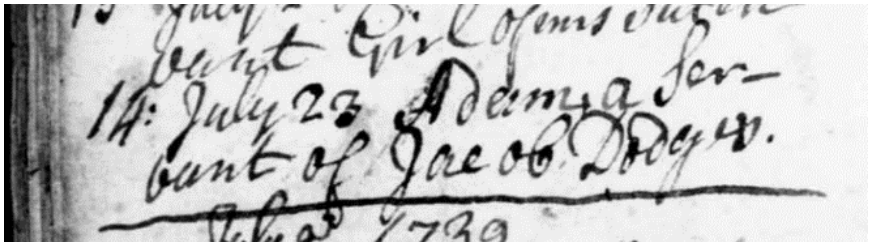
Capt. Jacob Dodge was a farmer who acquired a sizeable portfolio of real estate. He was also a part owner of the Dodge Mill Complex on Longham Brook from 1741 to 1759. He was married three times: to Sarah Hubbard (ca.1711–1740) in 1736, to Martha (Perkins) Dodge (bp. ca.1710–1752) in 1741, and to Elizabeth Crowell (bp. 1726–1806) in 1752. He had two children with his first wife, two with his second wife, and seven children with his third.[282] His residence prior to 1743 hasn't been determined. It is likely that he and his family moved into this house in 1743 when his father bought it.

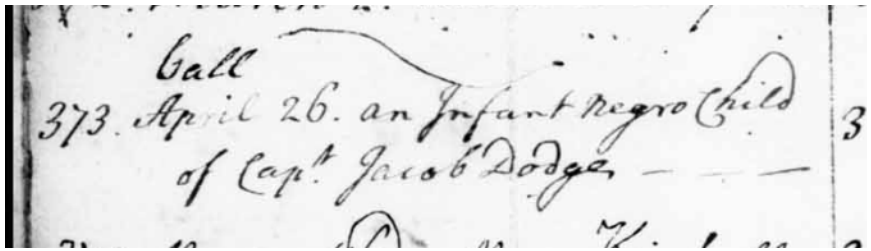
Like some of his contemporaries, Dodge kept an account book in which he recorded various business transactions with his neighbors (many of the transactions being barter-based). His book survives in the collection of the Wenham Museum. Based on the data logged in it, it seems that Dodge had just one enslaved person during the period 1758–1767, during which he recorded several occasions when he hired out "my negro" (singular) to work on various neighbors' farms. But beginning in 1768 he identified his enslaved workers by name, a practice he continued through 1778, and it is clear that by 1775 he had four enslaved men in his household.[283]

Ten enslaved members of Dodge's household have been identified over the period 1738–1799:

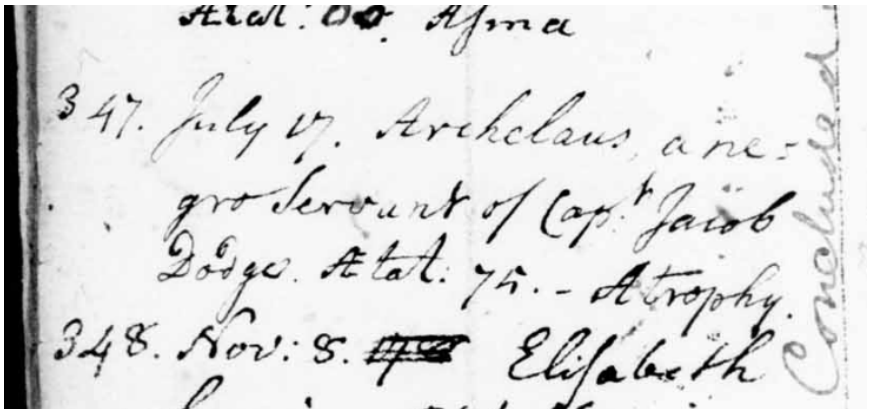
- Adam Black was part of the household when he was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1738,[284] and therefore would have moved to the Josiah Dodge Jr. House along with Capt. Jacob Dodge in 1743. He was apparently no longer part of the household by 1758, as Dodge's account book gives the impression that Dodge had only one enslaved man in his household at that point (i.e., Archelaus). Adam Black seems to have been the same man as the Adam Black (Lieut. Richard Dodge household), discussed on pages 176-177, who married Jean Black (Josiah Dodge Jr. household) in 1735.[285] If so, he was still living when their son Adam Jr. was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church in 1742.[286]
- Archelaus was purchased by Dodge from Edward Waldren Jr. (1727–1822) in 1750. Archelaus was born about the year 1714 (location unknown) and died in 1789, still a part of the Capt. Jacob Dodge household. In 1762 he married Phoebe, an enslaved woman in the Richard Hubbard Dodge (1737–1815) household.[287] Archelaus was hired out


14: July 23 Adam a Ser-
vant of Jacob Dodge

Record of Adam's owning of the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church, 1738.[288]


Call
373. April 26. an Infant Negro Child
of Capt. Jacob Dodge

Record of the death of the anonymous enslaved infant in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household, 1779.[289]


347. July 17. Archelaus a ne-
gro Servant of Capt. Jacob
Dodge. Ætat. 75. - Atrophy.
348. Nov: 8. Elisabeth

Record of Archelaus' death, 1789.[290]

to work on neighbors' farms on over twenty occasions between 1758 and 1778.[291] In addition to this work and work done on Dodge's own farm, it is likely that Archelaus worked at the Dodge Mill Complex, given Dodge's part ownership of it.

- Daniel was part of the household by 1768 and through at least 1778. He was hired out a number of times during this period, including assignments to enslavers Lieut. Richard Dodge, Skipper Dodge (1721–1785) and Nathan Brown (d. 1792).[292]
- Eli was part of the household by 1773 and through at least 1776. He was hired out during this period, including assignments to enslaver Nathan Brown.[293]
- Jethro was born in Ipswich (although his birth wasn't recorded by the Ipswich town clerk) and was in the Dodge household by 1773. That year he was hired out by Dodge to his brother, enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge, to help build part of a stone wall. In 1774 Jethro married Flora, who was part of the Capt. Daniel Goodhue (1728–1809) household of Ipswich. The next year Jethro was hired out a couple of times, including an assignment mowing a field for enslaver Nathan Brown. Jethro was no longer in the Dodge household by 1781. In that year he fell ill in Manchester, and the Manchester selectmen asked the Ipswich (not Wenham) selectmen for reimbursement for caring for him at the Manchester almshouse.[294]
- An anonymous enslaved man was part of the household in 1775. That year Dodge hired out "my negros" (plural) for two days of hoeing for enslaver Nathan Brown. The amount charged to Brown corresponded to work for four men for two days—three of those men being Archelaus, Eli and Jethro.[295]
- An anonymous infant (gender and parents not recorded) died in 1779.[296] The fact that it was an infant raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman in the household who has gone unrecorded.
- A girl named Violet (parents not identified) is mentioned in Capt. Jacob's will, written in 1788.[297] Hers was a case of what one scholar calls "unfreedom;"[298] she was theoretically a free person, but by virtue of her being the subject of a bequest in Dodge's will, she wasn't treated as a fully-free person.

- Two anonymous boys (their parents not identified) were in the household prior to Capt. Jacob's death in 1792.[299] Similar to Violet, their status can be thought of as unfreedom.

Martha (Perkins) Dodge's first husband, Hamilton resident Barnabas Dodge (ca.1706–1739), died with an anonymous enslaved man in his household.[300] It's not known whether that man came with Martha to the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1741, or whether he was transferred to a different household. If he was transferred into Capt. Jacob's household, the man was apparently gone by 1758—given the impression provided by Dodge's account book that Dodge had only one enslaved man in his household (Archelaus) in 1758.

Capt. Jacob Dodge's 1793 estate inventory included "one third of a set of Pomp['s] tools" valued at £30. Pompey's tools also appear in Lieut. Richard Dodge's 1778 inventory and will, in which Lieut. Richard says the tools were owned jointly by brothers Lieut. Richard, Capt. Jacob and Skipper Dodge.[301] The fact that Pompey's tools were owned jointly raises the possibility that Pompey himself may have been enslaved jointly by the three Dodge brothers. An alternate theory, probably preferable, is that "Pomp" was the Pompey Black who died while part of the Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) household in 1731.[302] Perhaps Pompey had a function that required specialized tools, and those tools were inherited by the Dodge brothers from their father Lieut. William.

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By the 1830s the abolitionist movement had gained traction in Wenham. In 1839 Capt. Jacob Dodge's son Abraham (1764–1841) and daughter-in-law Lydia (Crowell) Dodge (1778–1840)—as well as 23 of Capt. Jacob's grandchildren, great-grandchildren and their spouses—signed a petition seeking the abolition of enslavement.[303]

Might the Josiah Dodge Jr. House Have Been a Station on the Underground Railroad?

Oral history maintains that the house was a station on the Underground Railroad during the nineteenth century, and that fugitives were hidden in the cellar, accessed by a trap door near the front entrance to the house. The physical and circumstantial evidence, however, are inconclusive. See Appendix I.

3. The Skipper Dodge House, Formerly to the Southwest of the Intersection of Larch Row and Dodges Row

- *Residence of Hampshire in the Skipper Dodge household by 1756*
- *Residence of Violet in the Skipper Dodge household by 1756*
- *Residence of Phoebe in the Skipper Dodge household by 1766 and perhaps as late as 1770*
- *Residence of Caesar in the Skipper Dodge household by 1766*
- *Possible residence of Flora in the Skipper Dodge household in 1770*
- *Possible residence of an anonymous son of Archelaus in the Skipper Dodge household by 1787*

In 1752 Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) gave farms in Ipswich and Wenham to his adult sons Lieut. Richard (1703–1778), William Jr. (1705–1777), Capt. Jacob (1716–1792) and Skipper (1721–1785), his other adult son Isaac (1708–1791) having moved to Boxford.[304] Skipper's farm was a 22-acre lot that abutted the southwest corner of the intersection of Larch Row and Dodges Row. Although Lieut. William gave Richard, William Jr. and Jacob their farms outright, he treated Skipper differently, giving title to Skipper's farm to brother Jacob but with a life estate for Skipper. (No reason is provided in the deed that explains why Skipper received lifetime *use* of the farm instead of ownership. Might Skipper have been intellectually challenged?[305]) Five years later Lieut. William sold Skipper about three acres that abutted the 22-acre lot, fronting on Larch Row.[306] The site of Skipper's house can't be determined. The house was gone by 1824 (a probate inventory that year

describing the farm as having a barn but no house), and there are no houses shown on the Wenham maps of 1856, 1872 or 1884 that might have been built on its site.[307]

Skipper Dodge's maternal grandparents were Walter and Sarah (Skipper) Fairfield (discussed on page 99), and his name was a tribute to his grandmother's family. He married Sarah Cogswell (1725–1776) in 1745 and Anna (Dodge) Kilham (b? d?) in 1776. He had four children with his first wife, only one of whom is known to have reached adulthood. In 1743 and 1762 deeds he is called a "yeoman"—which, because it's not a title for a particular trade —means he was a farmer.[308]

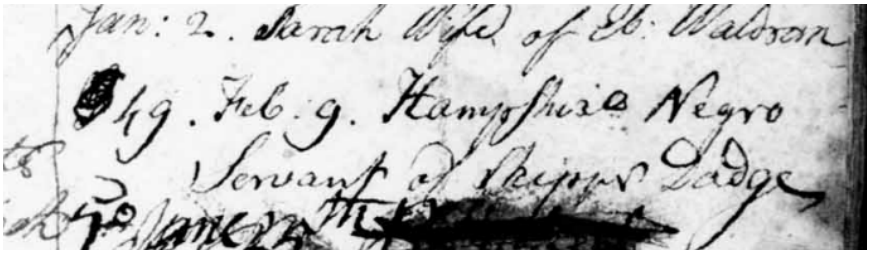
There were at least four enslaved people in the Skipper Dodge household,[309] all of whom were baptized by or worshiped at the Wenham Congregational Church: Hampshire, Violet, Phoebe and Caesar. There may also have been two other enslaved children in the household whose deaths were recorded by the church: Flora and an anonymous boy.

- Hampshire died while part of the Dodge household in 1756, his death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[310] There were two enslaved people in Wenham who shared the name "Hampshire"—the other one having been baptized as a child or teenager in 1754 who spent much of his life in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household, discussed on page 181-184. One wonders if the Hampshire in the Skipper Dodge household may have been the grandfather of the Hampshire who was baptized in 1754.
- Violet was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1756.[311]
- Phoebe was a member of the Skipper Dodge household by 1766 when her son Caesar was baptized. The same year, she was admitted to full communion with the Wenham Congregational Church. Phoebe, who was of both African and European descent, had married 48 year-old Archelaus (ca.1714–1789) in 1762. At that time, she was in the Richard Hubbard Dodge (1737–1815) household and he was in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household. Her baptism, however, was not recorded by the Wenham church; this indicates that she was baptized in a town other than Wenham and was enslaved by someone prior to Richard Hubbard Dodge. (An anonymous enslaved child died while part of the Richard Hubbard Dodge household in 1762. Given

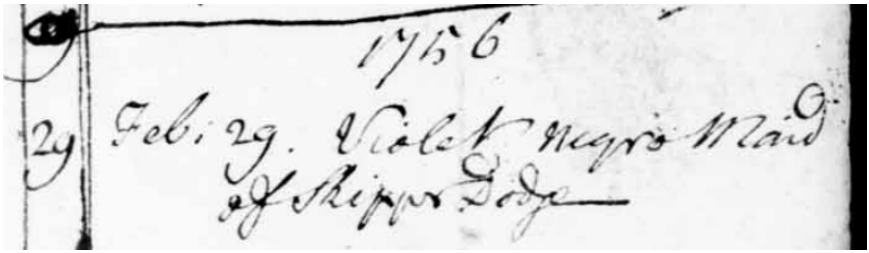
the absence of other candidates, it's possible that the child was Phoebe's.)[312]

- Phoebe had a son Caesar who was baptized in 1766, a few months after Phoebe was baptized. The record of Caesar's baptism identifies his mother by name and refers to him as a "servant boy of Skipper Dodge" but does not identify Caesar's father.[313] We might assume that his father was Archelaus.
- Phoebe and Archelaus had a daughter Flora who died as an infant in 1770. Flora's death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the church's record does not identify Phoebe's enslaver and we don't know whether Phoebe was still part of the Skipper Dodge household.[314]
- An anonymous son of Archelaus (the name of the mother not recorded) died in 1787. The record of his death calls him "a young negro boy child," which tells us he was someone other than Phoebe's son Caesar (who was at least 21 years old at the time). The record does not include the name of an enslaver. The anonymous boy has been assigned to the Skipper Dodge household on the two assumptions that his mother was Phoebe and that Phoebe was still part of the Skipper Dodge household in 1787. If this was not the case, then the boy may have been living with his father Archelaus in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household.[315]

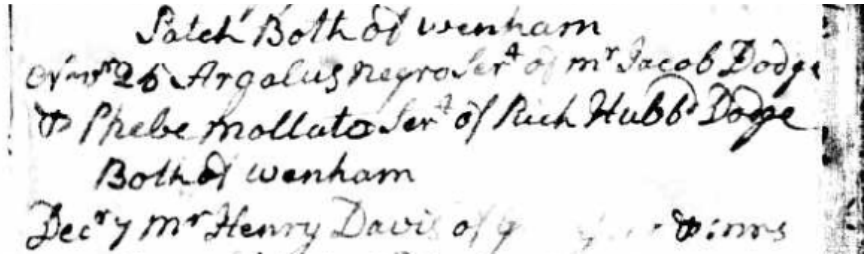
Dodge was part owner (along with his brothers Lieut. Richard Dodge and Capt. Jacob Dodge) of a set of tools that had belonged to an enslaved man named Pompey.[316] The fact that Pompey's tools were owned jointly raises the possibility that Pompey himself may have been enslaved jointly by the three Dodge brothers. An alternate theory, probably preferable, is that "Pomp" was the Pompey Black who died while part of the Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) in 1731.[317] Perhaps Pompey had a function that required specialized tools, and those tools were inherited by the Dodge brothers from their father Lieut. William.


Jan: 2. Sarah Wife of Eb: Waldron
19. Feb. 9. Hampshire Negro
Servant of Skipper Dodge

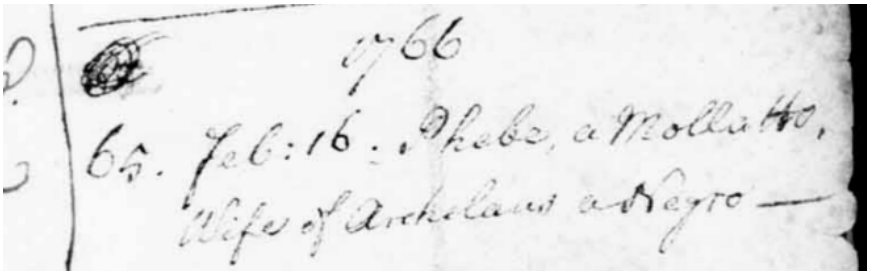
Record of Hampshire's death, 1756.[318]


1756
29 Feb. 29. Violet Negro Maid
of Skipper Dodge

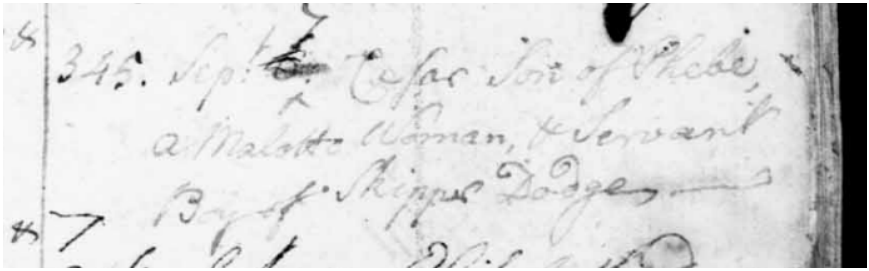
Record of Violet's owning of the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church, 1756.[319]


Salch Both of Wenham
Co[n]m[r] 26 Argalus Negro Ser[t] of m[r] Jacob Dodge
& Phebe Mollato Ser[t] of Rich Hubb[d] Dodge
Both of Wenham
Dec[r]y m[r] Henry Davis of

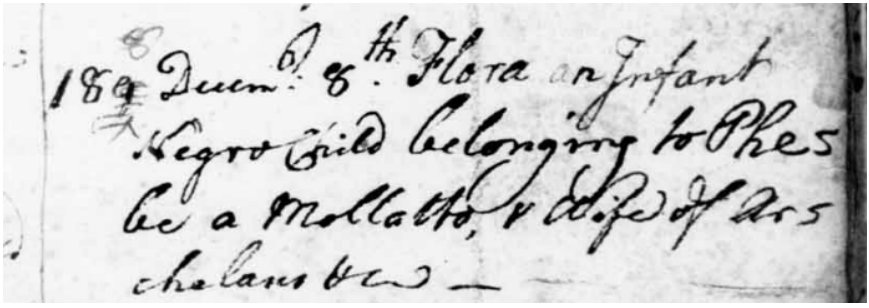
Town clerk's record of Archelaus ("Argalus") and Phoebe's wedding, 1762.[320]


65. Feb: 16. Phebe a Mollatto,
Wife of Archelaus a Negro

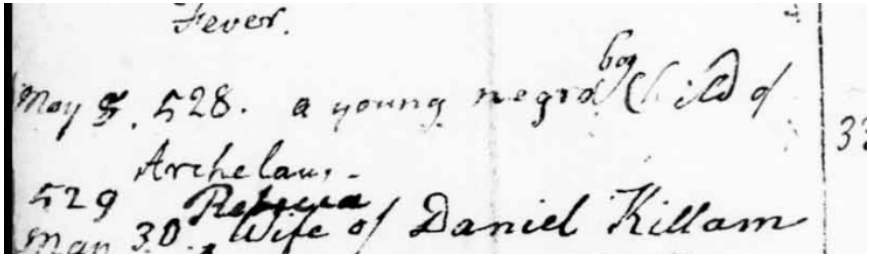
Record of Phoebe's admission to full communion with the church, 1766.[321]



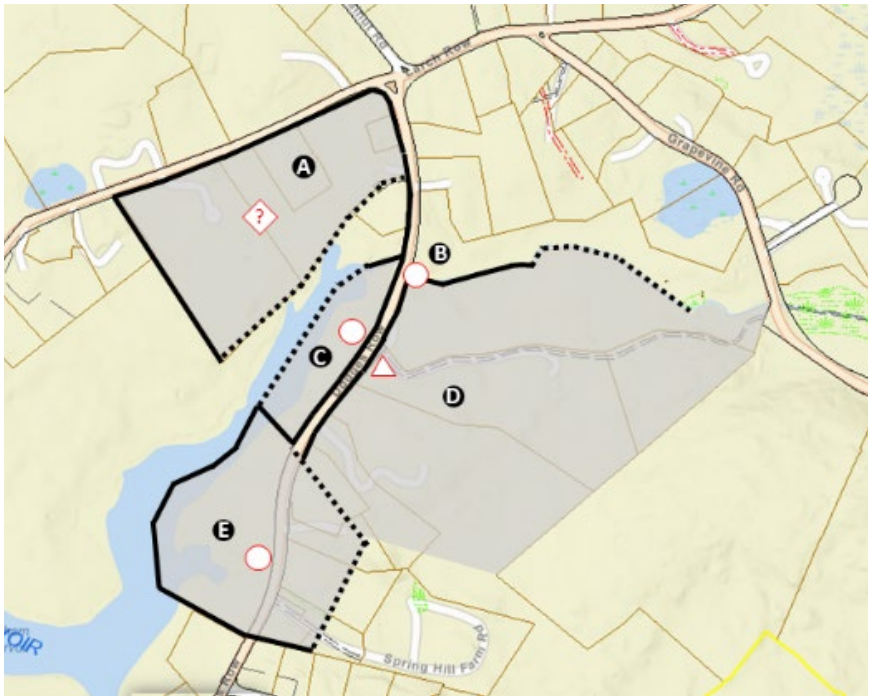
Record of Caesar's baptism, 1766.[322]



Record of Flora's death, 1770.[323]



Record of the death of the anonymous son of Archelaus, 1787.[324]



The Skipper Dodge Farm (A), Dodge Mill Complex (B), Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) Farm (C), Thomas Dodge Farm (D) and John Edwards Farm (E). The site of Skipper Dodge's house is unknown. The Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) House and John Edwards House were torn down in the 1890s for the construction of Longham Reservoir.[325]

○ Former site, high conviction
□ Former site, medium conviction
△ Former site, low conviction
◇ Former site unknown

4. Burial Ground, Near 201 Larch Row

Over 100 enslaved people have been identified as having lived in Wenham. One wonders where they—as well as those who haven't been identified—were buried. It appears that the standard practice was to bury deceased enslaved people on the respective enslaver's farm.

In 1889 Wenham Neck resident John W. Curtis (1835–1908) wrote an article for the *Salem Gazette* in which he shared his recollection of conversations he had with Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman (ca.1770–1859) in the late 1830s or 1840s.[326] "Aunt Phyllis" had been enslaved, and lived probably her whole life in Wenham Neck. In that article Curtis wrote:

> [Phyllis] also pointed out to me the place of [enslaved people's] burial on the hill side [*sic*] in the rear of an old barn now standing on the farm belonging to the heirs of the late Maj. Andrew Dodge. In the days of my early childhood the mounded outlines of these graves were plainly discernible."

The farm that Curtis referred to was the farm associated with the Maj. Andrew Dodge House at 201 Larch Row. The hillside is the one that crests behind 195 Larch Row, and the "old barn" is visible in the photograph on page 173.[327] The specific site of the burial place has not been determined, and the genesis of the burial place is unexplained. Although the standard practice was to bury the deceased on their respective enslaver's farm, no documented enslavers owned this site.[328] The farm, however, was once owned by Dea. Ebenezer Waldren (1703–1760) whose nephew Edward Waldren Jr. (1727–1822), discussed on page 146, was an enslaver.

5. Possible Burial Ground, Off Dodges Row

A town history written in 1943, a neighbor's 1975 recollection of an event that occurred around 1945, and two longtime residents' recollections recorded in 2005 and 2013 raise the possibility of a burial ground on a site that was once part of the Skipper Dodge Farm.

In 1943 Wenham Neck resident Adeline Cole (1866–1959) wrote: "Tradition has persisted" of a "slave burial ground" at "the rear of the house of Mrs. Charles Leach on Dodge's [*sic*] Row." She added: "Skulls [*sic*, plural] which have been found at this spot would justify this tradition." Later in her book Cole wrote: "This general ownership of slaves in this section [Wenham Neck] accounts for the traditional slave burying ground at Wenham Neck,

The Waldren Farm northeast of the intersection of Larch Row and Walnut Road, 1732 boundaries.[329] In an 1889 newspaper article a local resident recalled that a formerly enslaved woman showed him (in the late 1830s or 1840s) the site of a burial ground on this farm. But the genesis of the burial ground is unexplained, as no documented enslaver owned this property. Might an eighteenth century owner have had enslaved members of his household that have gone undocumented?

the unfenced and unmarked burial place, in the midst of their owners' land, of these negro slaves."[330] In 2005 Dorothy "Dot" (Dodge) Maciejowski (1926–2017) reiterated the rumor, adding the detail that it was thought that seven people had been buried at the site. In 2013 her uncle Albert "Albie" Winslow Dodge (1914–2015) also reiterated the rumor, including the seven-burials statistic.[331]

About the year 1945 Donald Bell (1896–1979) found a skull behind the Leach House on Dodges Row. Bell was interviewed by a local newspaper in 1975 about the suspected burial ground. In the article he recalled that

> he was walking past the garden when he saw a skull. It had apparently been unearthed during the garden's spring plowing, and Bell found other human bones nearby. "It was Arthur Leach's garden," [Bell] said recently. … "Leach had just plowed the garden when I found the skull." … Bell said many years ago, he heard stories about an ex-slave named Amos[332] who was still living in Wenham after the Civil War. He believes that Amos, and perhaps some other slaves, once lived in the area which is now his front yard.[333]

It is certainly possible that Bell found the remains of a formerly enslaved person. But it is problematic that the bones were not studied by an anthropologist or physician before being reinterred. And it should be noted that the site has not been examined by an archaeologist. Consequently, we don't know as a fact that the bones belonged to someone of African descent. (Might the remains have belonged to someone of Indigenous or European descent?) In addition, it is unexplained why the remains were buried in a grave that was so shallow that it was disturbed simply by the plowing of a garden.[334]

6. The Dodge Mill Complex, Formerly to the East of Dodges Row at Longham Brook

- *Likely workplace of Pompey Black in the Lieut. William Dodge household from 1723 through 1731*
- *Likely workplace of Peter in the Lieut. William Dodge household ca.1723*
- *Likely workplace of the anonymous "Indian" man in the Thomas Dodge household ca.1736*
- *Likely workplace of Adam Black in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household ca.1736*

- *Likely workplace of Abijah ("Byiah") in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household ca.1742 through ca.1759*
- *Likely workplace of Jack in the Lieut. William Dodge household ca.1743*
- *Likely workplace of Archelaus in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household from 1750 through 1759*
- *Likely workplace of Hampshire in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in the 1750s through at least 1778*
- *Workplace of Scipio Lee Dodge in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household in 1770*
- *Workplace of Manning in the Capt. John Dodge household in 1772*

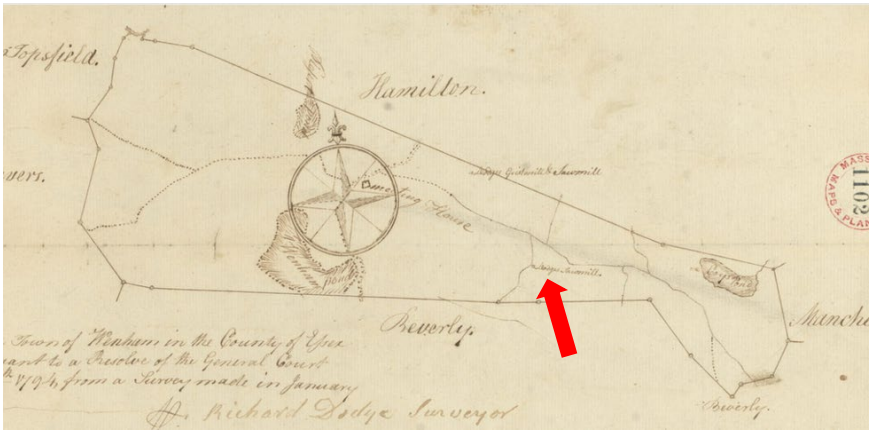
Lieut. John Dodge (ca.1631–1711) built a sawmill along Longham Brook at Dodges Row by 1682. He added a gristmill in 1687—the town clerk's records including the intriguing detail that Dodge was granted one walnut tree, to be harvested from town-owned land, for use in making cogs for the gristmill's works.[335] Operation of the mill complex was a seasonal matter. Longham Brook was dammed each year from November through mid-April so that the water level in the mill pond could be raised by six to eight feet, but at times rising high enough to flood Grapevine Road.[336] The Dodge Mill Complex was in operation until about 1822.[337]

Ownership remained in the Dodge family through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, although ownership became increasingly complicated as each tranche of owners divvied-up their respective portions to sell or bequeath to other family members.[338] Enslavers Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765), Thomas Dodge (1700–1736), Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778), Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) and Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) were at different times part owners. Consequently, it's likely that several of Wenham's enslaved men worked here, by virtue of their enslavers' ownership of the complex:

- Pompey Black, Peter and Jack (Lieut. William Dodge household)
- An anonymous "Indian" man (Thomas Dodge household)
- Adam Black, Abijah and Hampshire (Lieut. Richard Dodge household), and
- Archelaus (Capt. Jacob Dodge household).

Two enslaved men are *documented* as having worked in the mill complex. In 1770 Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) hired out Scipio Lee Dodge to work in the complex for his father Lieut. Richard Dodge.[339] Manning (who

probably worked here as early as the 1740s when he was part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household) is known to have worked here in 1772 when he was part of the Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) household.[340]



Richard Dodge's 1795 map of Wenham (above) and John Hales' 1825 map (below). The Dodge Mill Complex appears on both maps.[341]

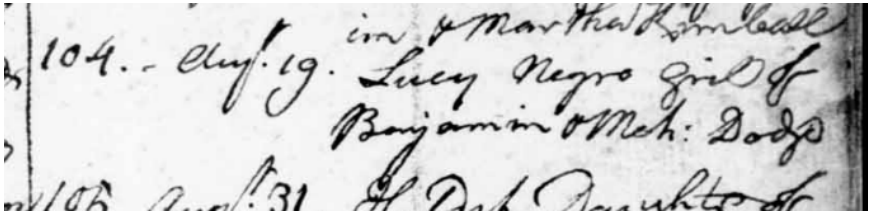
Remains of the mill dam with the mill pond beyond, Dodge Mill Complex site on Longham Brook, looking to the east. The dam raised the water level six to eight feet, and sometimes even higher—occasionally high enough to flood Grapevine Road.[342]

Remains of bridge abutments adjacent to the Dodge Mill Complex site on Longham Brook, looking to the west. The bridge was removed when the road was widened in 1947.[343]

7. The Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) House, Formerly Opposite 45 Dodges Row

- *Residence of Lucy in the Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) household by 1759*

The Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) Farm was along the west side of Dodges Row to the east of Longham Brook. His house stood across the street from current-day 45 Dodges Row but was torn down in the 1890s for the construction of Longham Reservoir.[344] Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) married Mehitable Foster (bp. 1736?–1818) in 1756. He was a farmer and part owner of the Dodge Mill Complex.[345] The Dodges had an enslaved girl named Lucy in their household. She died in 1759, her death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[346]


104.– Decr. 19. Lucy Negro Girl of Benjamin & Meh: Dodge

Record of Lucy's death, 1759.[347]

The Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) House and Wenham Neck, 1895. The Dodge House is in the lower left portion of the image. When it was built it would have had a central chimney. The building as it appears here (with a chimney near its righthand gable and probably another chimney at the lefthand gable, hidden by the tree) reflects a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century renovation—or is perhaps a newer building of that vintage that was built on the site of the Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) House. The cellar hole in the foreground was the site of the Second John Kilham House.[348]

8. The Thomas Dodge House, Formerly Near Rocky Hill

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved man in the Thomas Dodge household by 1736*

Thomas Dodge (1700–1736) was a younger brother of enslaver Josiah Dodge Jr. (1698–after 1772). He married Sarah Porter (1706–1794) in 1724 and they had six children. Sarah was a sister of enslaver Mary (Porter) Cue (1700–1795).[349] Thomas owned a 54-acre homestead along the east side of Dodges Row that included land on Rocky Hill, which is the hill that crests behind 57 Dodges Row.[350] One might hypothesize that the Thomas Dodge House and the Second John Kilham House (the cellar hole for which appears in the photograph on the prior page) were one and the same building, but the surviving evidence is less than convincing.[351]

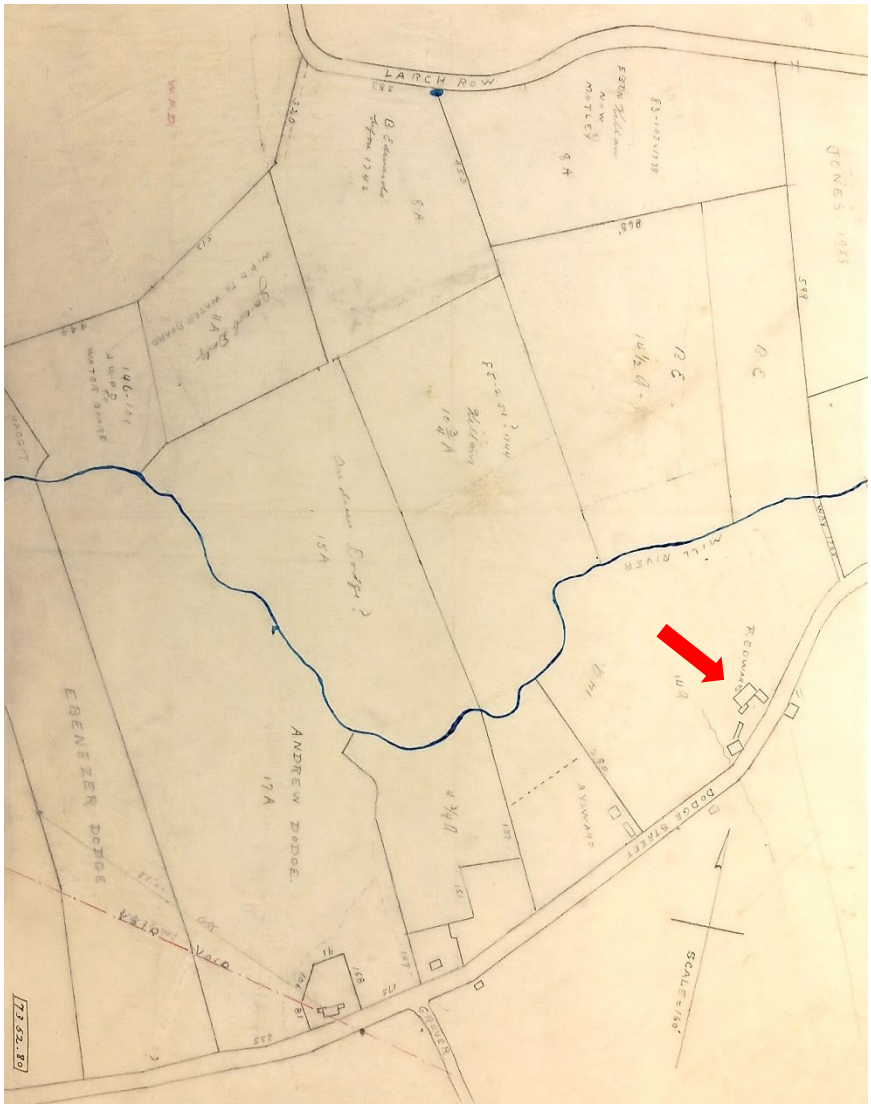
An anonymous enslaved "Indian" man was part of Dodge's household when Dodge died in 1736.[352] The term "Indian" was used to refer to people who were indigenous to New England as well as people who were indigenous to the Caribbean. In addition to farm work, he likely worked at the Dodge Mill Complex, of which Dodge was part owner.

9. The John Edwards House, Formerly Opposite 61 Dodges Row

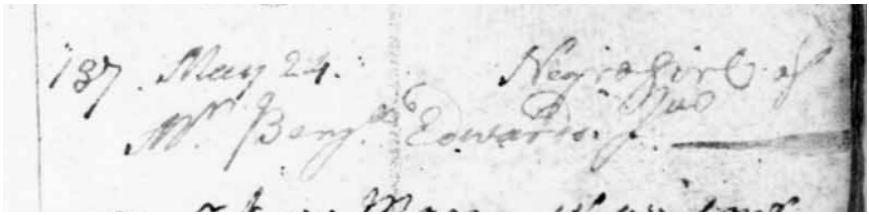
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved girl in the Benjamin Edwards 3rd household by 1763*

John Edwards (ca.1644–1697) had an eighteen-acre homestead that straddled Dodges Row. His house was on the west side of the road, approximately opposite current-day 61 Dodges Row. It was torn down in the 1890s for the construction of Longham Reservoir.[353] Benjamin Edwards 3rd (1727–1795), a grandson of John's brother, bought the house in 1751. He married Anna Baker (1731–1804) in 1748 and they had ten children, two of whom died during childhood.[354]

Edwards had an anonymous enslaved girl in his household who died in 1763, her death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[355] The fact that she was a child and not an adult raises the possibility that there was an enslaved woman (the girl's mother) in the Edwards household who has gone unrecorded.



Undated map showing the John Edwards House and related outbuildings. The house is identified by the label "F[rank] Edwards," who was the owner of the house between 1891 and 1894. The irregular blue line shows the course of Longham Brook, also known as Mill River, prior to the construction of Longham Reservoir. The faint reddish diagonal line in the lower left portion of the image is the Beverly-Wenham town line.[356]



Record of the death of the anonymous enslaved girl in the Edwards household, 1763.[357]

10. The Daniel Claflin House, Formerly Near 204-210 Larch Row

- *Possible residence of Adam Black in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in 1736, but, if so, absent by 1738*
- *Residence of Manning in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1742*
- *Residence of Abijah ("Byiah") in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1742 and until probably 1743*

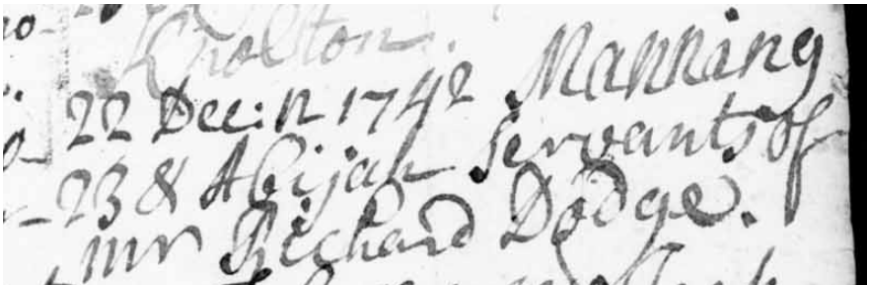
Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) married Mary Thorne (d. after 1778) in 1734. They had twelve children, six of whom survived to adulthood.[358] He was a farmer and surveyor, and he was part owner of the Dodge Mill Complex in 1736 and again from 1752 until his death.[359]

Dodge bought six houses over the course of his life, living probably in just two of them—the Daniel Claflin House and the Jonathan Hobbs House—and renting out the others before ultimately selling one and giving the others to his children. The Daniel Claflin House, likely built by Daniel Claflin (1674–1775), was Dodge's first. He bought it and fourteen acres on the south side of Larch Row between Dodges Row and Grapevine Road in 1736.[360] Over the years Lieut. Richard had the largest number of identified enslaved members of his household of any of Wenham's enslavers. Three enslaved men have been found who were part of his household while Lieut. Richard was living in this house.

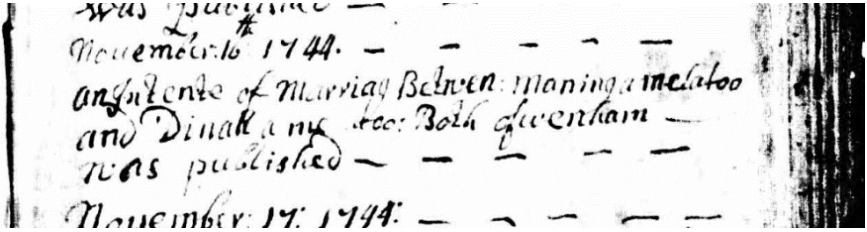
- Adam Black was part of the household in 1735 when he married Jean Black (also known as Jenny Black), an enslaved woman in the Josiah Dodge Jr. (1698–after 1772) household.[361] Lieut. Richard's residence prior to 1736 has not been determined, although it is very

possible that the household shared the Lieut. William Dodge House with Richard's father William (see page 200). Adam likely worked not only on Dodge's farm but also in the Dodge Mill Complex, given Lieut. Richard's brief ownership of it in 1736. He appears to be the Adam Black who was in the Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) household in 1738, discussed on pages 154-155.[362]

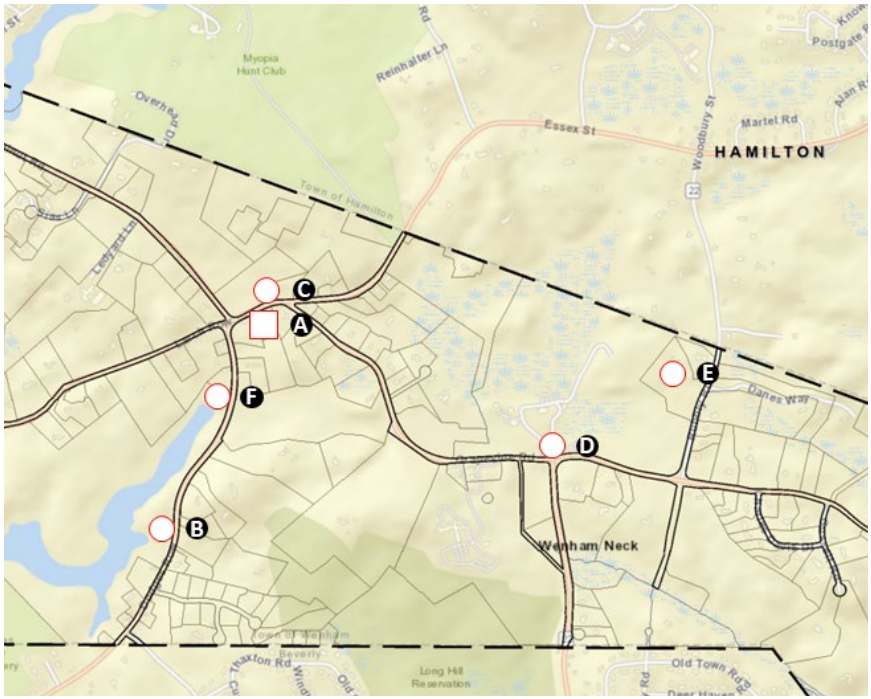
- Both Manning and Abijah were baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1742.[363] Manning announced his intention to marry an enslaved woman named Dinah in 1744, the town clerk's record noting that both Manning and Dinah were of both African and European descent but omitting the names of their respective enslavers (see page 248).[364] Manning was subsequently transferred to the Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) household (page 192) and was still living in 1772. We'll learn more about Abijah (whose nickname was "Byiah") in the next section of this chapter.



Record of Manning's and Abijah's owning of the covenant with the Wenham Congregational Church, 1742.[365]



Town clerk's record of the intention of marriage of Manning and Dinah, 1744.[366]



Houses owned by Lieut. Richard Dodge.[367]

A. The Daniel Claflin House, purchased in 1736
B. The John Edwards House, purchased in 1740
C. The Jonathan Hobbs House, purchased in 1743
D. The Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House (a/k/a the Iron Rail House), purchased in 1751
E. The Lieut. William Dodge House, given to Dodge in 1752
F. The Amos Dodge House, purchased in 1760

○ Former site, high conviction □ Former site, medium conviction

11. The Jonathan Hobbs House, Formerly Near 211 Larch Row

- *Possible residence of Manning in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household, but if so, absent by 1753*
- *Likely residence of Abijah ("Byiah") in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household from 1743 to as late as 1759*
- *Likely residence of Hazor/Hazzard in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household from 1745 to 1753 or 1754*
- *Likely residence of Flora in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1754 and through 1757*
- *Likely residence of Hampshire in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1754 and through 1778*
- *Likely residence of Dinah in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1754*
- *Likely residence of Caesar in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1754 and through 1759*
- *Likely residence of Jack in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1754 and through at least 1762*
- *Likely residence of an anonymous enslaved child in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1758*
- *Residence of Sylvie in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1778 (perhaps by 1771)*
- *Residence of an anonymous child of Sylvie in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household by 1778*

In 1743, just seven years after buying the Daniel Claflin House, farmer/mill owner Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778)[368] expanded his farm's footprint along Larch Row by buying the Jonathan Hobbs House and its twelve acres, a parcel at the current-day corner of Larch Row and Walnut Street across the road from Dodge's first house.[369] When he wrote his will in 1778 Dodge referred to the Jonathan Hobbs House as his residence. Although Dodge would come to own other houses in addition to the Daniel Claflin House and the Jonathan Hobbs House, one can assume that (1) he moved into the Jonathan Hobbs House from the Daniel Claflin House soon after buying it and (2) he kept the Jonathan Hobbs House as his residence throughout the remainder of his life.[370]

We don't know whether Manning, an enslaved man in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household as late as 1742 who is treated in the previous section of

this chapter, was still a member of the household in 1743 or later. An important source of information about the enslaved members of Dodge's household is his account book, which is in the collection of the Wenham Museum. It is a leather-bound volume in which he recorded debts and credits with his neighbors in a largely barter-based economy, documenting transactions as early as 1753. Manning is absent from the book. Ten enslaved people other than Manning have been identified who were part of the household during the period when Dodge likely used the Jonathan Hobbs House as his residence.

- Abijah—who Dodge calls "Byiah" in the account book—was part of Dodge's household as early as 1742 when Dodge was living across the road in the Daniel Claflin House (pages 176-179). Abijah wasn't only a source of labor to work on Lieut. Richard's farm and to work in the Dodge Mill Complex; he was also a source of revenue. "Byiah" was hired out multiple times between 1753 and 1759 to Dodge's neighbors to haul logs, hay and manure; drive oxen; plow; make cider; dig out rocks and build stone walls. Dodge continued to hire out other enslaved members of his household during the 1760s and early 1770s, but not Abijah. Perhaps Abijah died, became incapacitated or was transferred to a different enslaver about the year 1760 or 1761.[371]
- In 1745 Lieut. Richard purchased an enslaved man named Hazor from Nehemiah Dodge of Ipswich. Born about the year 1720 or 1721, Hazor's name morphed to "Hazard." He partnered with Flora, an enslaved woman who was also in the Dodge household, with whom he fathered his first child Hampshire in the late 1730s or 1740s. In 1751, when he was about 30 years old, Hazard stole a horse from Dodge and ran away—leaving behind his partner Flora, son Hampshire (and perhaps one or two other children, discussed below). Lieut. Richard ran an advertisement in a Boston newspaper seeking Hazard, describing him of "yellowish complexion, middling stature" and "well-set," with "a scar across the middle of each of his legs of two inches long, cut by an ax." The ad also said that Hazard spoke "pretty good English." Captured and returned, Hazard was part of the Dodge household as late as 1753 (when he was hired out to enslaver Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) to help build a stone wall),[372] but was transferred to the John Gott Jr. (ca.1694–1761) household in West Wenham (pages 34-36) by the spring of 1754, where

Continued on p. 184

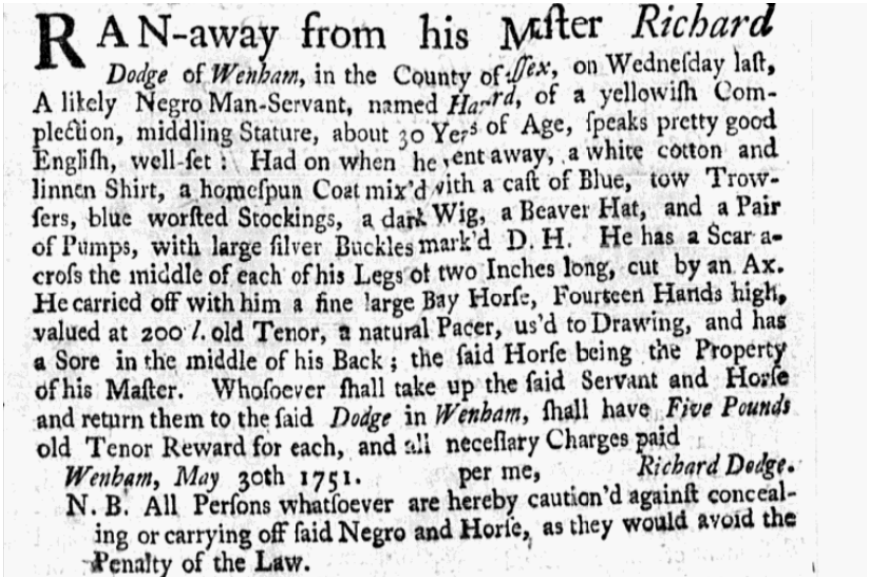
Document Recording Lieut. Richard Dodge's Purchase of Hazor (Hazard), 1745[373]

KNOW all men, by these presents, that I, Nehemiah Dodge, of Ipswich, in the County of Essex, and province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, yeoman, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty-seven pounds and ten-shillings, lawful money, to me in hand, paid by Richard Dodge, of Wenham, in the county and province above, yeoman; have bargained and sold and delivered to the said Richard Dodge, his heir [*sic*], executors, and assigns my negro man-servant named Hazor, about twenty-five years of age, with his apparel; to have and to hold said negro man servant called Hazor, with his apparel, to the said Richard Dodge, his heir [*sic*], executors, and assigns, as his and their proper property (chattels); and I, the said Nehemiah Dodge do covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said Richard Dodge, his executors, heirs, and assigns, that I am the lawful owner of the said negro man, and that he is a slave or servant for life; and that I have lawful authority to make this sale, in manner, and form as aforeto; and that I, the said Nehemiah Dodge, my heirs, executors, assigns, shall and will maintain and make good this my sale, against all persons whomsoever. In witness whereof I have set to my hand and seal, this 21st. day of November, 1745.

NEHEMIAH DODGE.

Signed, sealed, and delivered,
in the presence of these
witnesses:

DAVID DODGE
JACOB POLAND.



RAN-away from his Maſter *Richard Dodge* of *Wenham*, in the County of *Eſſex*, on Wedneſday laſt, A likely Negro Man-Servant, named *Hazard*, of a yellowiſh Complection, middling Stature, about 30 Years of Age, ſpeaks pretty good Engliſh, well-ſet: Had on when he went away, a white cotton and linnen Shirt, a homeſpun Coat mix'd with a caſt of Blue, tow Trowſers, blue worſted Stockings, a dark Wig, a Beaver Hat, and a Pair of Pumps, with large ſilver Buckles mark'd D. H. He has a Scar acroſs the middle of each of his Legs of two Inches long, cut by an Ax. He carried off with him a fine large Bay Horſe, Fourteen Hands high, valued at 200 *l.* old Tenor, a natural Pacer, us'd to Drawing, and has a Sore in the middle of his Back; the ſaid Horſe being the Property of his Maſter. Whoſoever ſhall take up the ſaid Servant and Horſe and return them to the ſaid *Dodge* in *Wenham*, ſhall have *Five Pounds* old Tenor Reward for each, and all neceſſary Charges paid

Wenham, *May* 30th 1751. per me, *Richard Dodge.*

N. B. All Perſons whatſoever are hereby caution'd againſt concealing or carrying off ſaid Negro and Horſe, as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law.

Advertisement by Lieut. Richard Dodge, seeking the run-away Hazard, 1751.[374]

he lived separately from his family.[375] The story of an attempted escape by an enslaved man living in Wenham Neck—probably Hazard—circulated in Wenham's enslaved and formerly enslaved community until the mid-nineteenth century. See Appendix G.

- Flora, Hazard's partner, was part of the Dodge household by 1754. Although Hazard had previously been enslaved by Nehemiah Dodge, we don't know whether or not that was the case with Flora. They had three children together. All three were baptized in 1754, indicating that Flora and Hazard worshiped at the Wenham Congregational Church. Flora died in 1757, still a member of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household.[376]
- As for Hazard and Flora's children …
    - Hampshire was baptized in 1754 (see page 35). He was hired out by Dodge on multiple occasions between 1754 and 1770 to work on neighboring farms—which tells us that he *wasn't* baptized as an infant, and was born probably in the late 1730s or 1740s (when his father was likely part of the Nehemiah Dodge household).[377] Hampshire's hired-out jobs in 1754 and 1755 were for gathering corn and plowing—jobs that an older child or teenager could do. It's possible that he was the Hampshire Dodge who fought in the Revolutionary War aboard the frigate *Boston* during 1777 and manned gun #10 of the 32-gun warship.[378] Even so, he was still part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in 1778 when Dodge's estate was being settled, Dodge bequeathing Hampshire to his son Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802).[379] In addition to working the Dodge farm and neighboring farms, it is likely that Hampshire did work in the Dodge Mill Complex, given Lieut. Richard's part ownership of it.
    - Dinah was baptized in 1754. She might subsequently have been moved to the Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766) household, as there was a Dinah who was living in that household in 1766 (page 101).[380]
    - Caesar, baptized in 1754, died while part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in 1759.[381]
- An enslaved man named Jack was part of the household by 1754 and through at least 1762, appearing in each of those two years in Dodge's account book when he was hired out to harvest corn, harvest flax

and mow a field.[382] Jack likely also worked in the Dodge Mill Complex. It is possible that he was the man by the same name who was in the Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) household in 1743 (pages 201, 205).

- An anonymous enslaved child (gender not recorded) died while part of the Dodge household in 1758. The death was recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but the record does not identify the child's parents.[383] The fact that this was a child and not an adult raises the possibility that there was an unrecorded enslaved woman (the child's mother) in the household.
- An enslaved woman named Sylvie was part of the household twenty years later, in 1778, when Lieut. Richard bequeathed her to his wife Mary (Thorne) Dodge.[384]
- Sylvie had a child (name, gender and age not recorded) who was also bequeathed by Lieut. Richard to Mary in 1778. Given the fact that Hampshire was still part of the Dodge household in 1778, one wonders whether he partnered with Sylvie and fathered her child.[385]

Lieut. Richard Dodge owned a set of "Pomp['s] tools" jointly with his brothers Capt. Jacob and Skipper Dodge (1721–1785).[386] The fact that Pompey's tools were owned jointly raises the possibility that Pompey himself may have been enslaved jointly by the three Dodge brothers. An alternate theory, probably preferable, is that "Pomp" was the Pompey Black who died while part of the Lieut. William Dodge household in 1731.[387] Perhaps Pompey had a function that required specialized tools, and those tools were inherited by the Dodge brothers from their father Lieut. William.

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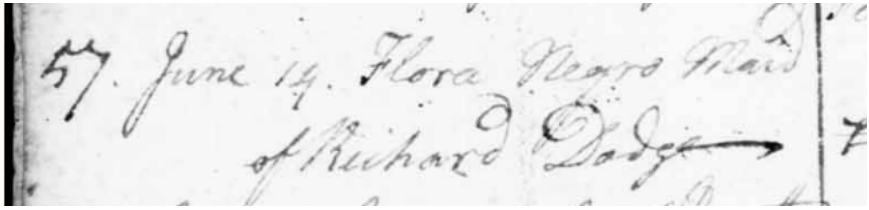
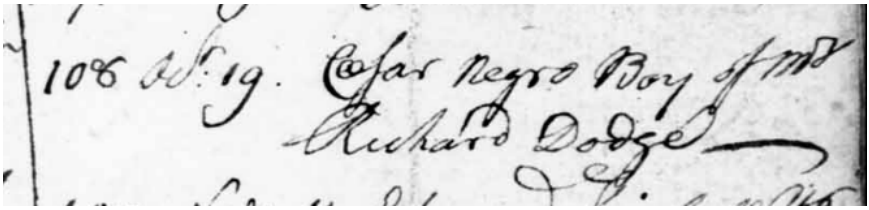
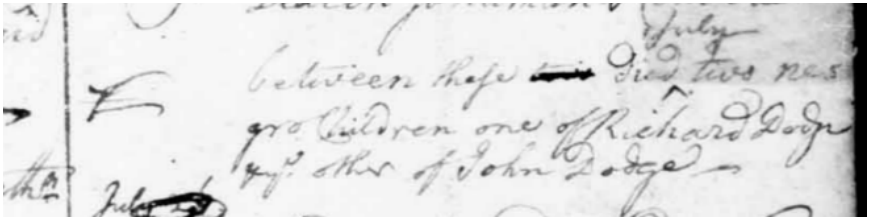
By the 1830s the abolitionist movement had gained traction in Wenham. In 1839 nine of Lieut. Richard's descendants and their spouses signed a petition seeking the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people.[388]





Records of Flora's and Caesar's deaths, 1757 and 1759.[389]



Record of the deaths of the anonymous enslaved children in the Lieut. Richard Dodge and John Dodge (1717–1779) households, 1758.[390]

12. Pompey's Island, Iron Rail Property

- *Possible burial place of Pompey Black, 1731*

In 1976 Lawrence G. Dodge (1882–1978) wrote to Susanne "Snooky" Phippen (1927–2015) about the site of the Lieut. William Dodge House on Rubbly Road, which is discussed later in this chapter. In that letter he also spoke of Dodge's Island[391] and Pompey's Island on the Iron Rail Property. The Phippens owned the western portion of Dodge's Island while the eastern portion was (and still is) part of the town-owned Iron Rail Property. As for Pompey's Island, Dodge had this to say:

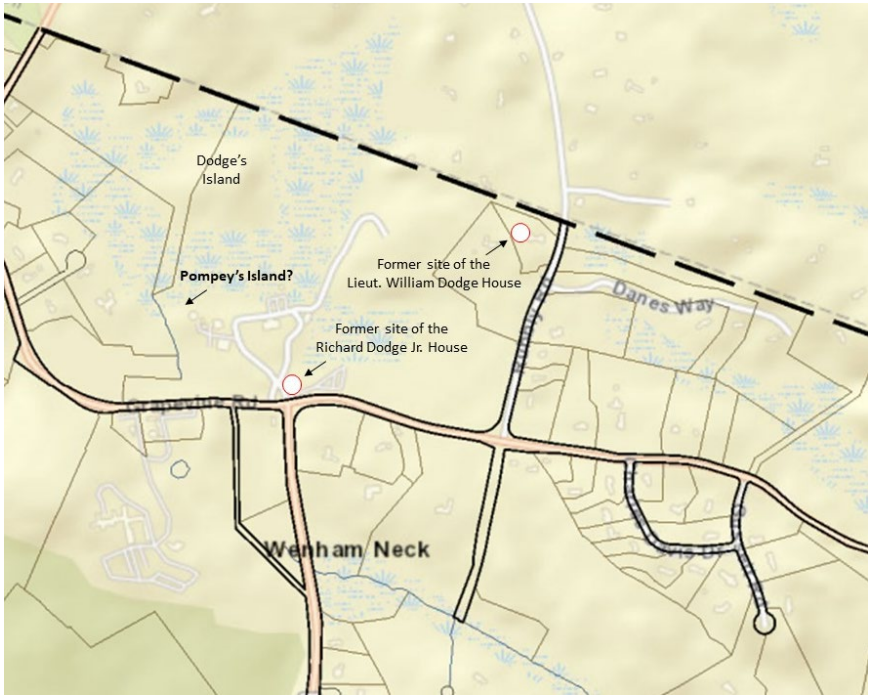
> There is also a grove of trees on a small knoll at the west of the Iron Rail original land, with meadow on three sides of it, which was called "Pomp's Island," reputedly the burial place of a black man who had been a servant for some of the family, probably before the Revolution."[392]

From the content of the letter, we can determine that Dodge's Island and Pompey's Island were two different sites. We can also determine that Pompey's Island wasn't actually an island, but rather a peninsula. A knoll adjacent to the town's water tank on the Iron Rail Property is the only site found that corresponds to Dodge's description of Pompey's Island. No archaeological study has been done, however, to determine whether this site is indeed the place where an enslaved man was buried.[393]

The strongest candidate for the site's namesake is Pompey Black (ca.1717–1731), who is discussed on pages 200-204. It is possible, though, that the Dodge family had another enslaved man named Pompey who has gone unrecorded.[394]

13. The Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House (a/k/a the Iron Rail House), Formerly at the Intersection of Grapevine Road and Essex Street, Later Moved to 5 Don Byrne Way, Hamilton

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved boy in the Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1703*
- *Residence of Mingo in the Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1703*
- *Residence of Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman in the Capt. John Dodge household by about 1770 and through about 1799*



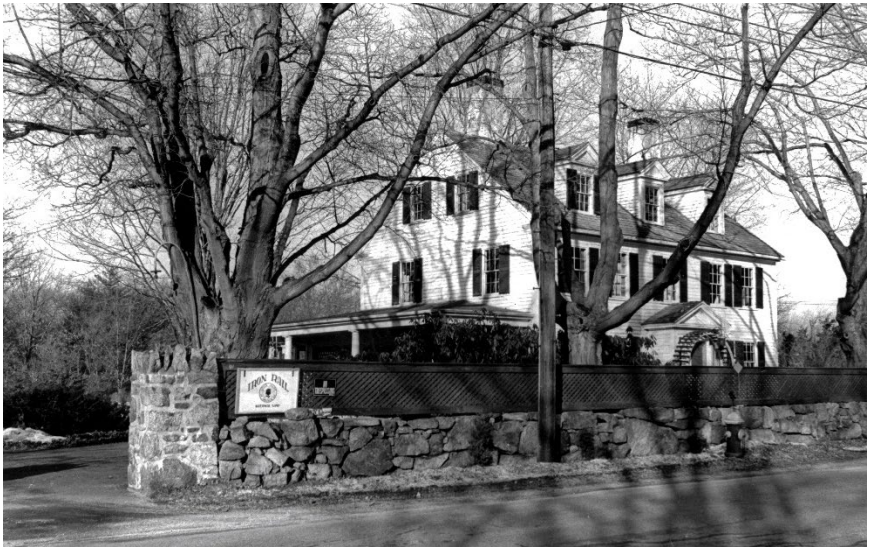
The probable location of Pompey's Island along with Dodge's Island and the sites of the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House (a/k/a the Iron Rail House) and the Lieut. William Dodge House.[395]

- *Residence of Manning in the Capt. John Dodge household by 1772*
- *Residence of Sally in the Capt. John Dodge household by 1807*

In 1703 60 year-old Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) was ready to do some estate planning. He owned multiple pieces of property, giving his farm in Hamilton to eldest son Richard Dodge 3rd (1670–1739) and dividing his Wenham farm (on which Richard Jr. lived) between his sons Daniel Dodge (1677–1740) and Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765). There were two houses on the Wenham property: Richard Jr. gave his own house to son Daniel and gave the other house to son Lieut. William.[396] Richard Jr.'s house was to the north of the intersection of Grapevine Road and Essex Street. It was subsequently bought by his grandson Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778)[397] who gave it to his son Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) in 1768.[398] By the late nineteenth century the house had acquired a decorative iron fence (or railing) and came to be known as the "Iron Rail House." The railing was melted down during World War II, and the house itself was moved in 1976 to 5 Don Byrne Way in Hamilton.[399] Both Richard Dodge Jr. and his great-grandson Capt. John Dodge were enslavers.

Richard Dodge Jr. married Mary Eaton (ca.1641–1716) in 1668; they had five children.[400] He had two enslaved people in his household in 1703, the records of whom are the earliest records of enslavement in Wenham. That year he gave an anonymous enslaved boy to eldest son Richard Dodge 3rd and an enslaved man named Mingo to his son Daniel.[401] While the anonymous boy was likely moved to Richard Dodge 3rd's farm in Hamilton, Mingo likely stayed in the Iron Rail House with his new enslaver Daniel Dodge. "Mingo" may have been a diminutive of "Domingo," and therefore might be a hint that he was of Caribbean origin.

The Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House, photographed in the late nineteenth century. A section of the iron railing—the source of the colloquial name of "the Iron Rail House"—appears in front of the house to the right.[402]



The Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House, photographed in 1971.[403] Notice that dormers were added and the stone wall was constructed after the previous photograph was taken.

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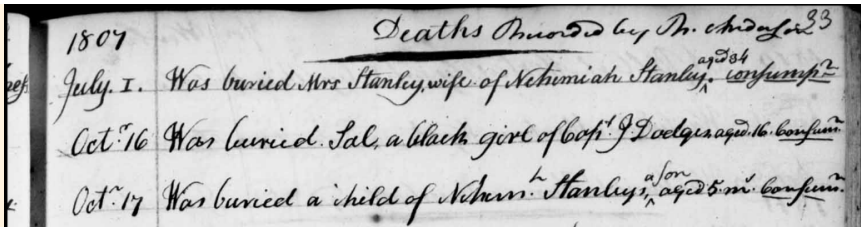
Capt. John Dodge married Anna Porter (1736–1825) in 1760; they had six children.[404] At least three enslaved people were part of their household.

- Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman was born about the year 1770, probably in the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House. In an 1851 deposition Phyllis said that she was "brought up" in the Capt. John Dodge household.[405] This raises the possibility that there was an unrecorded enslaved woman (Phyllis' mother) in the household. Phyllis remained in the Capt. John Dodge household until about 1799. Two anonymous people of color were part of the Dodge household at the time of the 1790 Federal census, one of whom was apparently Phyllis.[406] Both individuals were likely examples of what one scholar has called "unfreedom,"[407] the phenomenon whereby enslavement in Massachusetts didn't end overnight with the ratification of the state constitution, but rather lingered into the early nineteenth century. More information about Phyllis appears below on pages 193-199.
- Manning appears in Lieut. Richard Dodge's account book in 1772 when Lieut. Richard credited Capt. John Dodge for three days of work that Manning had done for Lieut. Richard at the Dodge Mill Complex.[408] He had been part of Lieut. Richard Dodge's household in the 1740s (page 177), but no record has been found that indicates when Manning was transferred to Capt. John Dodge's household. Might Manning have been the father of Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman?
- Sally was born about 1791 and died in 1807, her death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[409] She was apparently the anonymous person tallied in the Dodge household in the Federal census of 1800 as a free person of color, and not as a "slave." Sally provides another example of unfreedom. Although counted as a free person of color in the 1800 census, when the church recorded her burial in 1807 she was identified as "a black girl of" Dodge—language that echoes the language of enslavement.[410] The record of Sally's birth has yet to be found; might she have been the daughter of Phyllis (Bryant) Feeman?


Deaths Recorded by Th. Cheever Esq.r 33
1807
July. 1. Was buried Mrs Stanley, wife of Nehemiah Stanley, aged 84 consumpt.
Oct.r 16 Was buried Sal, a black girl of Capt.n J Dodges aged 16. consum.
Oct.r 17 Was buried a child of Nehem.h Stanley's, a son aged 5 m.s consum.

Record of Sally's burial, 1807.[411]

Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman was born about the year 1770 and died in Wenham in 1859, one of the few people of color who lived in Wenham during the mid-nineteenth century. The town clerk's record of her death says that she was born in Wenham and that the names of her parents were unknown. That record includes the remarkable detail of the words "form[er]ly a slave."[412]

Phyllis remained in the Capt. John Dodge household until about 1799.[413] She married Fortune Freeman in 1813 at the Wenham Congregational Church. That record identifies both as being of Wenham and identifies both as "blacks" (which in itself shows an evolution of language away from the commonly used term "negroes" that had been used in Wenham during the eighteenth century). The record identifies her as *Mrs.* Phyllis Bryant, which indicates that she had been married previously. (Occasionally the title "Mrs." was given in cases where the bride had never been married but enjoyed a position of high social standing. That was certainly not the case with Phyllis.) But the record provides no further clues about Phyllis' or Fortune's origins.[414] When Fortune died in 1840, his age was recorded as 55 years, meaning that he was born about the year

> Phyllis survived enslavement … and later witnessed the exodus of Wenham's formerly enslaved population to places like Boston and Salem … and lived long enough to sign a petition seeking the abolition of enslavement.

1785—and that there was a 15-year difference in Phyllis' and Fortune's ages. More information about Fortune appears on page 256.

Phyllis does not appear by name in the 1810 Federal census for Wenham, although she could have been tallied anonymously as a member of someone else's household. Indeed, Abraham Dodge (1764–1841), John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834[415]), Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857) and Nathaniel Kimball (1770–1855) each had one free person of color in their respective households in the 1810 census.[416] But not all census-takers recorded everything they were supposed to. In the 1820 Federal census, Wenham's enumeration excludes the column that tallied people of color. The Hamilton document (which is in the same handwriting as Wenham's) also excludes this column. However, the Danvers document, which is written in a different hand, *does* include the column.

Phyllis Freeman appears by name in the 1830 census as the head of a one-person household, her age tallied in the over-55 category (indicating a birth prior to 1775). She was the only person of color tallied in the town, and apparently she and Fortune had separated.[417] She is absent from the 1840 census—although no people of color were included from Wenham in that census. She reappears in the 1850 census, the head of a one-person household, age 80 (indicating a birth in 1770), with a birthplace of Massachusetts. She was one of just two black people and four people of color tallied. Her data appears immediately after that for the family of Abraham Dodge 2nd (1804–1887) and immediately prior to the family of the Benjamin F. Spiller (1809–1861).[418] In the Massachusetts state census of 1855 she was recorded as 83 years old (indicating a birth in 1762) and having been born in Massachusetts. She was the only person in her family but tallied as a resident of the property owned by Abraham Dodge 2nd.[419] Indeed, Phyllis lived in a house on the west side of Dodges Row, just to the south of Longham Brook.[420] Phyllis' on-again off-again appearance in the Federal census is perplexing. We can only guess how much of this phenomenon represented people of color's avoidance of census-takers vs. census-takers' avoidance of people of color.

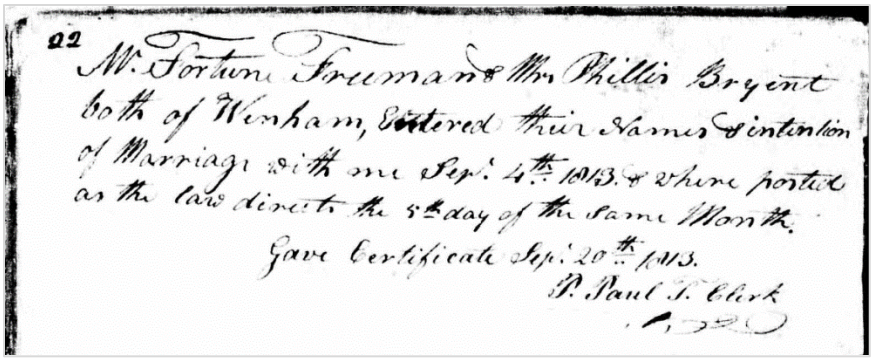
Phyllis received intermittent financial support from the town between 1841 and her death.[421] The town's Overseers of the Poor records provide further insight as to where she lived, showing that during this period she was a tenant in five different households (in addition to the Abraham Dodge 2nd household in 1855). Wenham reimbursed

- a Mr. Cleaves[422] for providing Phyllis with housing and fire wood in 1841;
- an unidentified host in 1843 for housing and fire wood;
- William Henry (1807–1858) for housing and Andrew Dodge (1791–1876) and Richard Dodge (1803–1850) for fire wood in 1844;
- Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857) for housing in 1845;
- Nicholas Dodge Jr. for housing and Richard Dodge for fire wood in 1846;
- Nicholas Dodge Jr. for housing in 1847; and
- Andrew Dodge for housing and fire wood in 1859.

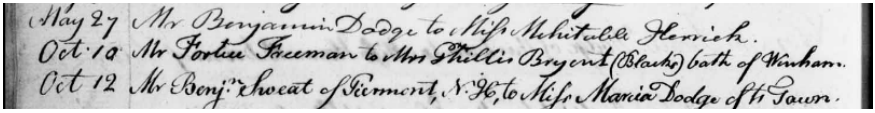
After her death, the town reimbursed B. C. Putnam & Co. for her unpaid bill, Andrew Dodge for providing her coffin and "grave clothes," and Joseph Beckford (1796–1878) for attending her funeral.[423]

In 1839 Phyllis (but not Fortune) signed a petition calling for the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people. A copy of the petition appears in Appendix I. She was the only formerly enslaved person to sign the petition.[424] The same year, a fugitive enslaved man, whose enslaver was described as "a distinguished Senator in a southwestern state," spoke at a meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society held in the Wenham Baptist Church just 200 or so yards from Phyllis' home—giving the meeting "some thrilling views of the evils of slaveholding as he had felt and witnessed them."[425] ("Thrilling"? That's a pretty sanitized way to put it!) Allowing for some conjecture, how could Phyllis not have attended the man's talk? And, assuming she attended, what was it like for the two of them to see each other inside the church?

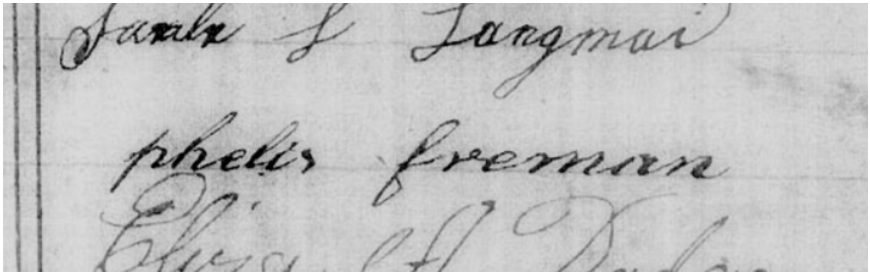
In 1843, having waited until her early 80s, Phyllis was baptized by and admitted to the Wenham Congregational Church.[426] In later life she was known colloquially as "Aunt Phyllis." A newspaper story written about her in 1889—capturing the author's recollections of conversations with her in the late 1830s or 1840s—captures her telling of the story of a Wenham Neck enslaved man who attempted escape (probably Hazard in the Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) household, pages 181-184), as well as her identification of a Wenham Neck burial place of multiple enslaved people (page 165).[427]


22
Mr. Fortune Freeman & Mrs Phillis Bryant
both of Wenham, Entered their Names & intention
of Marriage with me Sept. 4th 1813. & there parties
as the Law directs the 5th day of the same Month.
Gave Certificate Sept. 20th 1813.
P. Paul T. Clerk

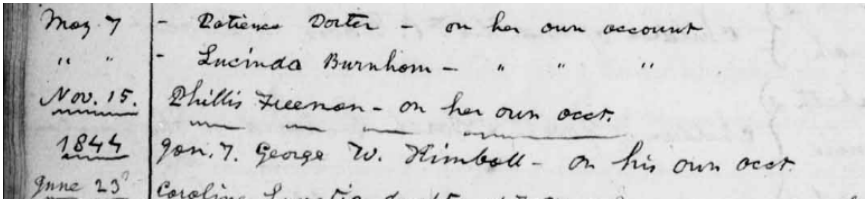
Town clerk's record of the intention of marriage of Fortune Freeman and Phyllis Bryant, 1813.[428]


May 27 Mr Benjamin Dodge to Miss Mehitable Hemick.
Oct 10 Mr Fortune Freeman to Mrs Phillis Bryant (Blacks) both of Wenham.
Oct 12 Mr Benj.a Chocat of Piermont, N. H., to Miss Maria Dodge of this Town.

Church record of Fortune Freeman and Phyllis Bryant's wedding, 1813.[429]



Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman's signature on a petition calling for the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people, 1839.[430]


May 7 - Rotiena Dorter - on her own account
" " - Lucinda Burnham - " " "
Nov. 15. Phillis Freeman - on her own acct.
1844 Jan. 7. George W. Kimball - on his own acct.

Record of Phyllis' baptism, 1843.[431]

Deposition of Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman in Support of the Pension Application of Frances Dodge (bp. 1774–1843), Widow of Revolutionary War Veteran Billy Dodge (1765–1817), 1851[432]

State of Massachusetts
County of Essex, SS Philliss [*sic*] Freeman of the town of Wenham in Said County, aged eighty one years, being duly examined & Sworn, doth depose and say that she was brought up in the said town of Wenham where she now resides, in the family of John Dodge who was a Captain in the army of the revolution, that she continued to reside as a domestic in said family till she was twenty-nine years of age or about the year 1799—That in consequence of thus living in said family, she of course became well and intimately acquainted with every member of it.

That said Captain John Dodge had a son named "Billy Dodge" who when only thirteen or fourteen years of age[433] became a fifer in one of the Companies raised in the District where he resided—but this Deponent being herself quite young at the time she can give no particulars of the service of said Billy Dodge as such fifer, as to length of service, country he marched through, nor in what particular years he served—but she does distinctly recollect that he served a part of the time at least, if not for the greatest part of the time, under his father the said Captain John Dodge, and his service commenced in the very beginning of the war of the revolution. She remembers to have seen him [the] said Billy make preparation time and again to perform his tours of duty as such fifer in the revolutionary army.

That said Billy Dodge immediately after the close of said war entered Harvard College wherein he studied three years, at the expiration of which period he graduated—that five or six years after he graduated he was married to a Miss Frances Costigin [*sic*] residing in the state of New Jersey, as she this Deponent was informed & believes, and the said Billy Dodge took for his residence in New York City. This Deponent cannot specify the exact date in which such marriage took place, but is assured that it happened seven or eight years before she left the family of said Captain John Dodge.[434]

Continued …

This Deponent continued to cultivate the acquaintance of the different members of the family of said Captain John Dodge, after she ceased to reside in his house—

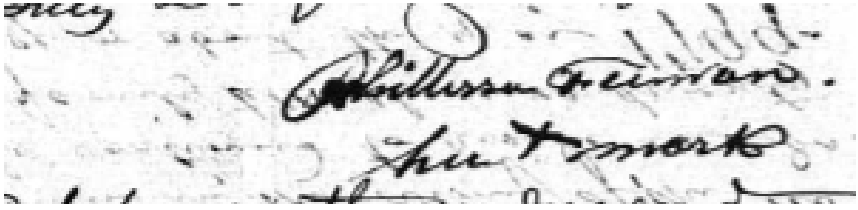
That Harriet F. Fisk [*sic*] now residing in said town of Wenham, widow of Samuel Fisk deceased and Maryanna Perkins wife of Israel Perkins residing in Danvers in said County of Essex, are both daughters of said Billy Dodge by the aforesaid Miss Costigin [*sic*]—That said Billy & his wife had, as this Deponent always understood & believes, another daughter named Maryanna born over fifty years ago who died when seven or eight years of age, but that previous to the birth of said Maryanna last named, and who was their second child about a year or a year and an [*sic*] half before the birth of said Maryanna last named, they had a stillborn child, which this Deponent always understood was the first child of said Billy Dodge & his wife Frances aforesaid.

Philliss [*sic*] Freeman
her × mark

Essex County Ss

Personally appeared before me the undersigned a Justice of the Peace in and for Said County, Philliss [*sic*] Freeman above named who made oath that the facts set forth in the deposition above written & by her signed, are true and correct—and I certify, that said Deponent is of excellent memory & sound mind—and that her statements are entitled to full credit. Witness my hand this [blank] day of November 1851.

Moses Foster Just[ice of the] Peace.



Phyllis' signature on her deposition, 1851.[435] By 1851 she was unable to sign her name with words; she had to sign her name with a mark ("×").

14. The Lieut. William Dodge House, Formerly Near 25 Rubbly Road

- *Residence of Pompey Black in the Lieut. William Dodge household from 1723 to 1731*
- *Residence of Peter in the Lieut. William Dodge household by 1723*
- *Residence of Jenny in the Lieut. William Dodge household by 1728*
- *Residence of Jack in the Lieut. William Dodge household by 1743*
- *Residence of Susanna in the Lieut. William Dodge household by 1761*
- *Residence of Scipio Lee Dodge in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1765 and through at least 1776*
- *Residence of Brookes in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1768 and through at least 1769*
- *Residence of Arnold in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1768 and through at least 1769*
- *Residence of Abner in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1771 and through at least 1773*
- *Residence of Frank in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household by 1773*
- *Likely residence of Hampshire in the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. household in 1778*

When Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) divided his Grapevine Road-Rubbly Road farm in 1703, his son Lieut. William Dodge (1678–1765) received the house in which Lieut. William was already living near current-day 25 Rubbly Road.[436] Lieut. William gave that house to his son Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) in 1752[437] and Lieut. Richard subsequently gave the house to his son Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802).[438] Both Lieut. William and his grandson Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. had enslaved people in their respective households.

Lieut. William Dodge was married three times: to Prudence Fairfield (1680–1737) in 1699, to Abigail (Knowlton?) Giddings (d. 1753) in 1738, and to Elizabeth Knowlton (b. 1690) in 1754. He had ten children with his first wife, two of whom did not survive to adulthood.[439] He was part owner of the Dodge Mill Complex from 1713 to 1752[440] and farmed multiple properties.

Five enslaved people have been identified who were part of Lieut. William's household:

- Pompey Black was purchased by Dodge from William Hilton 3rd (1678–1723) of Manchester in 1723.[441] Born about the year 1717, Pompey died while working for the Dodge household in 1731 as the

result of an accident with a cart.[442] In addition to working on Lieut. William's farm, it is likely that Pompey did work at the Dodge Mill Complex, given Dodge's part ownership of it. Indeed, it is possible that Pompey had a function that required specialized tools, as a set of tools owned by an enslaved man named Pompey came to be owned by Lieut. William's sons Lieut. Richard (1703–1778), Capt. Jacob (1716–1792) and Skipper Dodge (1721–1785).[443]

- An enslaved man Peter died while part of the Dodge household in 1723.[444] In addition to working on Lieut. William's farm, it is likely that Peter did work at the Dodge Mill Complex.
- An enslaved girl Jenny died while part of the Dodge household in 1728.[445] The fact that she was a child raises the possibility that there was an unrecorded enslaved woman (Jenny's mother) in the household.
- An enslaved man Jack was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant in 1743. Later the same year he became engaged to Violet, an enslaved woman in the Capt. Thomas Choate (1671–1745) household of Ipswich.[446] In addition to working on Lieut. William's farm, it is likely that Jack did work at the Dodge Mill Complex. It is possible that he was subsequently transferred to the Lieut. Richard Dodge household (pages 184-185).
- An enslaved woman Susanna died in 1761 while part of the Dodge household.[447]

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Lieut. William's grandson Richard Jr. acquired the house by 1768.[448] Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) married Lydia Dodge (1737–1813) in 1757; they had seven children.[449] He fought in the Revolutionary War, attaining the rank of captain.[450] He sold the Lieut. William Dodge House to his son John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851) in 1798[451] and about the same time started using the title of major, apparently an office he held in the militia.[452]

As was the case with his father Lieut. Richard, Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. kept an account book in which he recorded barter-based credit and debit transactions with his neighbors. That book (like his father's) survives and is in the collection of the Wenham Museum. In addition to debits and credits

Continued on p. 206

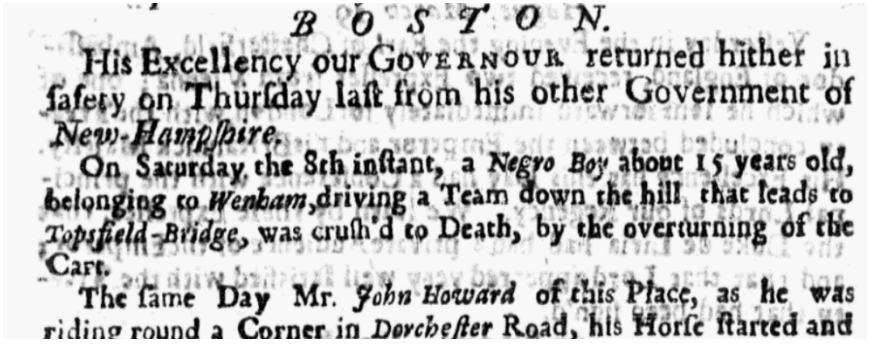
Document Recording Lieut. William Dodge's Purchase of Pompey Black, 1723[453]

Know all men by these presents that I Margatt [*sic*] Hilton By virtue of a letter of attorney—from my Husband William Hilton of Manchester in the County of Essex in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England for and in consideration of the full and just sum of Thirty Pounds in good current money of this Province, aforesaid, ~~paid~~ to me in hand paid before the signing here of [hereof] by Mr. William Dodge of Wenham in the County and Province aforesaid—Husbandman—The Receipt where of [whereof] I do hereby acknowledge, and myself therewith fully satisfied, contented and paid, have given granted and bargained, sold—~~delivered~~ conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents, do firmly and absolutely give, grant, Bargain and sell unto him the said William Dodge, his heirs and assigns for ever [*sic*] one Negro Boye [*sic*] servant called ~~Pompe~~ [*sic*] ye name of Pompey Black. To have and to hold the above said [abovesaid] negro boy servant Pompey Black—with all my right, title, and interest that I have in him, or any ways appertaining to him—to the abovesaid William Dodge—his heirs, his executors, and administrators and assignees to his and their own proper use, benefit, behoof forever—and the said Margaret Hilton for me my heirs, executors and administrators do covenant, promise & grant to and for and with the said Wm. Dodge his heirs and assigns and before the Exchange hereof [missing text] the [*sic*] have sole and lawful owner of the above said [abovesaid] negro boy Pompey Black—to grant bargain sell convey and confirm the same in manner as aforesaid and the said William Dodge, his heirs & assigns shall & may from time to time and at all times for ever here after [hereafter] by force and virtue of these presents—lawfully—peaceably and quietly—hold use improve and enjoy the above said [abovesaid] negro boy Pompey—free and clear—from all manner of former bargain and sale whatsoever. In witness whereof—I have hereunto set my hand and seal in Manchester this twelve [*sic*] day of June—1723—

Signed sealed & delivered in presence of

Margaret Hilton

Amos Cheever
Rice Knowlton



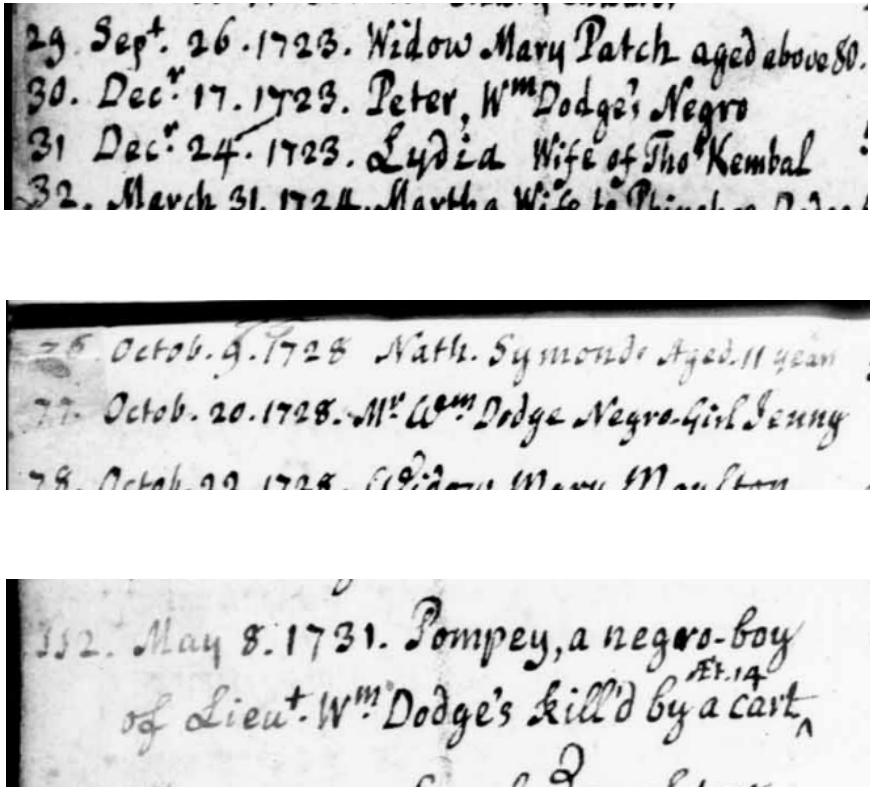
B O S T O N.

His Excellency our GOVERNOUR returned hither in ſafety on Thurſday laſt from his other Government of *New-Hampſhire*.

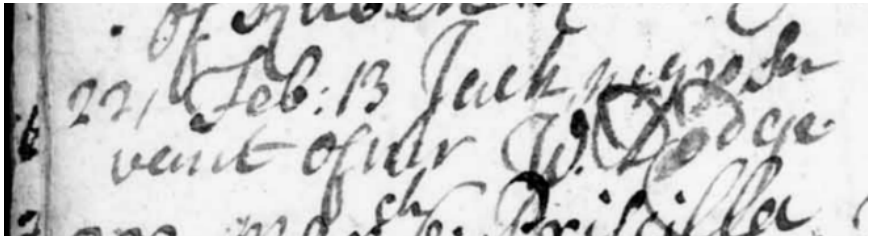
On Saturday the 8th inſtant, a *Negro Boy* about 15 years old, belonging to *Wenham*, driving a Team down the hill that leads to *Topsfield*-Bridge, was cruſh'd to Death, by the overturning of the Cart.

The ſame Day Mr. *John Howard* of this Place, as he was riding round a Corner in *Dorcheſter* Road, his Horſe ſtarted and

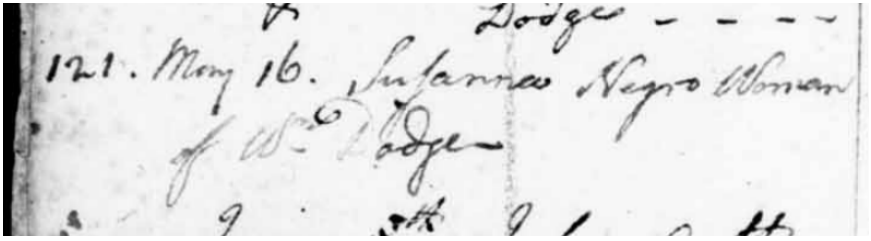
Newspaper account of Pompey Black's death, 1731. Pompey died accidentally when he was driving a cart and team of horses down the hill at the north end of current-day Topsfield Road. "Topsfield Bridge," mentioned in the account, was also known as Wenham Causeway and was the part of Topsfield Road that ran from the former railroad crossing to Valley Road.[454]


29 Sept. 26. 1723. Widow Mary Patch aged above 80.
30. Decr. 17. 1723. Peter, Wm Dodge's Negro
31 Decr. 24. 1723. Lydia Wife of Thos Kembal
Octob. 9. 1728 Nath. Symonds Aged 11 years
Octob. 20. 1728. Mr Wm Dodge Negro Girl Jenny
May 8. 1731. Pompey, a negro-boy
Æt. 14
of Lieut. Wm Dodge's kill'd by a cart

Records of Peter's (1723), Jenny's (1728) and Pompey Black's (1731) deaths.[455]



Record of Jack's baptism, 1743.[456]



Record of Susanna's death, 1761.[457]

of farm goods, he used it to record his hiring-out of five of the six enslaved men who have been identified as being part of his household.[458]

- Dodge had an enslaved man named Scipio in his household by 1765. He hired out Scipio to his neighbors on a number of occasions between 1765 and 1773—hoeing, working at the Dodge Mill Complex (for enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge), hauling wood, harvesting corn and thatch, mowing and thrashing hay, building a portion of a stone wall, plowing, and hauling manure.[459] Scipio enlisted in the army during the Revolution, joining the company that then-captain (later lieutenant) Richard Dodge commanded, part of Col. Loammi Baldwin's Regiment. Scipio fought from May 1775 through January 1776. He was initially stationed at Chelsea, where Capt. Dodge's company was engaged in the Siege of Boston, and was at the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17). A muster roll from 1775 identifies him as "Sipps Lee Dodge," which indicates that he had previously been enslaved by someone with the surname of Lee.[460]
- Brookes was part of the household in 1768 and 1769. He of course worked on Dodge's farm, but also was hired out for harvesting thatch, mowing, hoeing, raking and hauling wood. Two of the three men who hired him of Maj. Richard were enslavers Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) and Caleb Coy (ca.1692–1754).[461]
- Arnold was also part of the household in 1768 and 1769. He was hired out for day work to enslaver Caleb Coy.[462] No other record of him has been found.
- Abner was hired out to do neighbors' farm work on at least two occasions. The date of the first assignment cannot be pinpointed from Dodge's account book but occurred sometime between 1761 and 1771. The second occasion was in 1773, being hired out to enslaver Caleb Coy.[463] It is possible that he was the Abner who was baptized in 1752 and was later in the Josiah White (1703–1761) household (pages 25, 110), and it is also possible that he was the Abner Black who was living in Wenham between 1783 and 1790 (pages 249-250).[464]
- Frank appears briefly in Dodge's account book, being hired out on two occasions in 1773 for haying and plowing for Caleb Coy.[465] No other record of him has been found.

- Hampshire was inherited by Maj. Richard from his father Lieut. Richard in 1778, Hampshire appearing by name in Lieut. Richard's estate inventory of April of that year. Hampshire doesn't appear in Maj. Richard's account book, however; it is an assumption that Hampshire survived Lieut. Richard and was transferred into Maj. Richard's household.

The John Thorne Dodge House, photographed in 1895. John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851), a great-grandson of Lieut. William and son of Maj. Richard Dodge Jr., built this house about the year 1798 on the site of the Lieut. William Dodge House.[466]

15. The John Coy House, Formerly Near the Main Entrance to Gordon College Campus, Grapevine Road

- *Residence of Caesar in the Caleb Coy household by 1754 and in the William Cleaves household from 1754 through 1773*

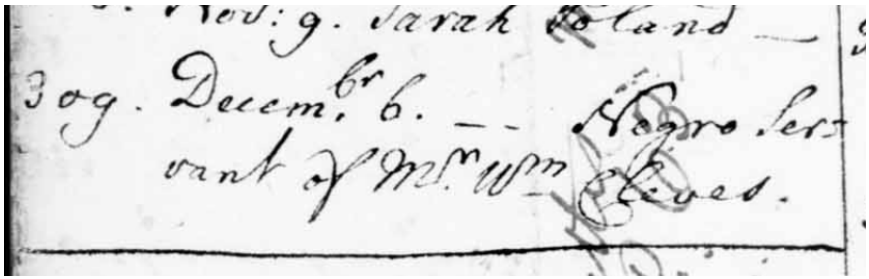
John Coy (ca.1658–1738) built a house to the south of Coy's Pond by 1691.[467] It was inherited by his son Caleb Coy (ca.1692–1754) and subsequently owned by Caleb's son-in-law William Cleaves (1720–1781).[468] Both Caleb Coy and William Cleaves shared an enslaved man named Caesar in their respective households.

Caleb Coy, yeoman farmer, was married three times: to Mary Wellman (b? d?), the intention of their marriage published in 1717; to Joanna Lovett (1698–1745) in 1720; and to Hannah Thistle (d. 1757) in 1750.[469] An enslaved boy named Caesar was part of the Coy household when Caleb died in 1754.[470] Coy does not appear to have been a wealthy man, which makes him an anomaly among Wenham's enslavers. Caesar represented one-fifth of Coy's assets at the time of Coy's death, whereas in nearly half the cases (for which we have data) an enslaved person represented just 1% or less of other enslavers' assets (page 281). It may have been the case that, having a son who survived to adulthood (Caleb Jr., bp. 1742–1776)—but only one son—Coy felt he had limited options for labor to work his farm. (Even so, in 1768, 1769 and 1771 Coy hired his neighbor the enslaver Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) as well as Richard's younger brother Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835), and enslaved members of Maj. Dodge's household Scipio, Brookes, Arnold, Abner and Frank to do work on Coy's farm.[471])

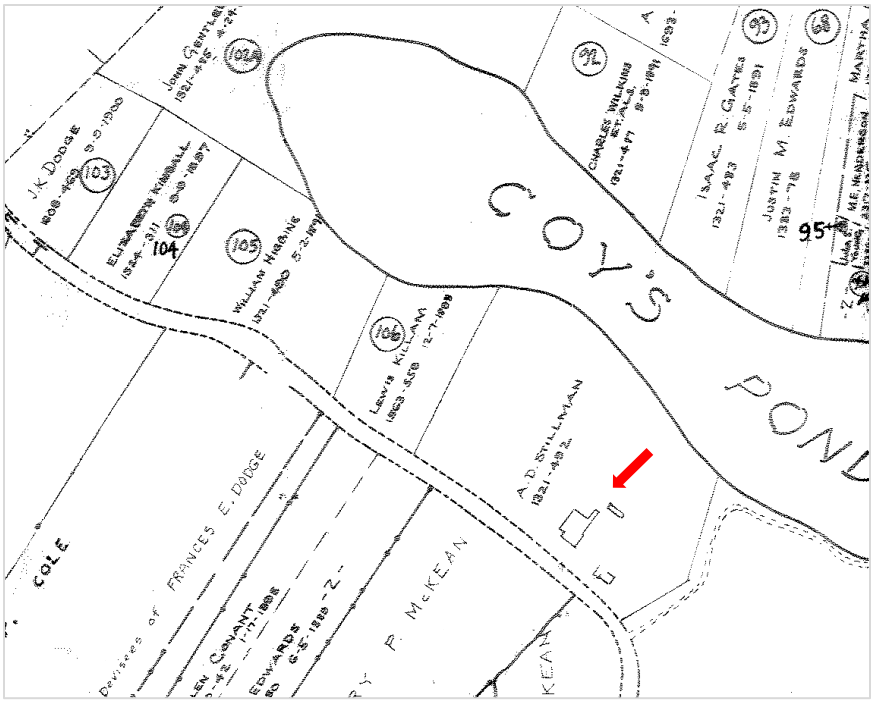
William Cleaves, a farmer, married Coy's daughter Joanna (1723–1789) in 1747. They had two children, one of whom died young.[472] Like his father-in-law, Cleaves was not a wealthy man, owning just a moderately-sized portfolio of real estate.[473] Cleaves inherited Caesar (by right of Cleaves' wife Joanna) in 1755.[474] He hired out Caesar to enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) on four occasions between 1766 and 1771, when Caesar hauled gravel, built part of a stone wall, hoed Dodge's field, and harvested corn.[475] Caesar died in 1773, his death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church, but for some unexplained reason his name was not included in the record of his death.[476]

In the "early 20th century" men who were building a polo field for Frederick Henry Prince (1858–1953) unearthed the remains of two people, who

were thought to have been enslaved, on Prince's estate Princemere (now the site of Gordon College). Prince had the remains reinterred at a site on the Iron Rail property.[477] Despite the suspicion of the men who discovered the bodies, we don't know as a fact that the remains belonged to people of African descent and therefore can't rule out that they were of Indigenous or European descent.



Record of Caesar's death, 1773.[478] It is unexplained why the record didn't include Caesar's name.



The John Coy House, or a later house built on its site, 1948.[479]

258 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 6, 30-31, 38-39, 41, 76, 77, 78, 84-85, 87, 93, 94, 112, 132 ("Pleasant Pond" being another name for Coy's Pond), 142, 157, 158. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 109. L. A. Dodge (1968), II-5.

259 Perley (1924–1928), 2:map between 147 and 148, 154.

260 A. Peabody (1868), 19. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 30, identifies the area around Coy's Pond as "East Wenham" and not "Little Comfort." Phillips (1938), 105, identifies Little Comfort as "[t]he extreme east end of Wenham, about Coy's Pond." Cole (1943), 106 refers to "the Neck and Little Comfort" without feeling the need to explain where Little Comfort was, which indicates that Wenhamites at that time knew the difference between the two neighborhoods. Town of Wenham (1959), 105, 164, 171, 180, 189, 218. Lillie (1976). Town of Wenham (1977), 25, 33, 38, 114, 121, 131, 141, 147. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 137. Lillie (1976) shows Little Comfort as extending into Beverly Farms.

Comfort Preston (or perhaps Presson?) has yet to be identified. A Comfort Preston of Hamilton (b. ca.1828) enlisted to fight in the Civil War in 1864. Adjutant General of Massachusetts (1931–1935), 5:834. Was the Civil War soldier perhaps the grandson of the first Comfort Preston?

261 Waldren bought 30 acres from John Abbey Jr. (d. 1700) and eighteen acres from Zaccheus Goldsmith (ca.1662–1747). Essex County Deeds 13:86 (John [Jr.] and Hannah Abbey to Nathaniel Waldren, 1696), first parcel; 13:87 (Zaccheus and Martha Goldsmith to Nathaniel Waldren, 1696).

Abbey Farm: Ten-acre grant to John Abbey Sr. (d. 1699) from the Town of Salem, 1642–1643 (Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 58, 62; and Essex Institute (1868), 115, 118), Abbey soon after building his house a short distance to the southwest of local landmark Abbey's Bridge. Weaver (1864), 10-14. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 6, 20, 21, 30, 33-34, 47, 177. L. A. Dodge (1968), III-5. *Maps*: L. A. Dodge (1908), 1971.10.065, sheet 1. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.083. Lillie (1976), house to the southwest of Abby's [*sic*] Bridge. *Other References*: See also Essex County Deeds 15:150 (John [Sr.] and Mary Abbey to Samuel Abbey, 1675). Note that the Abbey House and the Waldren House were on two different sites: had the Abbey House burned by the 1690s?

Goldsmith Farm: 200-acre grant to Samuel Smith (d. 1642) from the Town of Salem, 1638. Town of Salem, MS (1634–1720), 13, 20, 31; and Essex Institute (1868), 24, 47, 69. Bequest from Samuel Smith to son Thomas Smith (d. before 1655), 1642. Essex Institute (1911–1975), 1:45-47; and Essex Institute (1916), 18-21). From Thomas Smith (d. before 1665) to sons Capt. Thomas Smith Jr. (1643?–1688) and Samuel Smith (d. after 1679) by inheritance. Essex County Deeds 6:62 [379] (Samuell [*sic*] Smith to [Capt.] Thomas Smith [Jr.], 1679), the farm (acreage not quantified) occupied by Alexander Maxcy; 11:204 ([Capt.] Thomas Clarke et al. to Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith, 1695); 11:34 (Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zaccheus Goldsmith to [Capt.] Thomas Clarke, mortgage, 1695); and 19:151 (Peter Sergeant and Benjamin Browne [*sic*], to Joseph Fowler [Jr.] and Zacheus [sic] Goldsmith, quitclaim, 1706[/7]). Division of property between Fowler and Goldsmith not recorded.

262 Nathaniel Waldren was the father of Edward Waldren Sr. (1697–1746) and lived nearly five years after the death of Edward Sr., to whom he sold his farm in 1730. Essex County Deeds 58:18 (Nathaniel Waldren to Edward Waldren, 1730), first parcel. Edward Waldren Sr. bequeathed the homestead to his sons Edward Jr. (1727–1822) and Nathaniel (1730–1751). Brother Nathaniel died intestate and apparently unmarried; Edward Jr. appears to have inherited Nathaniel's portion of their late father's homestead. Essex County Probate 28750

(Edward Waldron [*sic*], 1746), :3-4 Division (1749), :19 Inventory (1746), :23-24 Will (1743). Essex Institute (1904), 80, 83, 223.

Subsequent Title History: Essex County Deeds 135:51 (Edward [Jr.] and Abigail Waldren to Joseph White, 1777), first parcel; 146:67 (Joseph and Elizabeth White to Nathan Brown, 1784), first deed, first parcel. Essex County Probate 3743 (Nathan Brown, 1792), :5-6 Will (1792), :14 Inventory (1792). Essex County Deeds 171:127 (Nathan Brown [Jr.] et al. to Jacob Dodge [Jr.], 1802), first parcel. Essex County Probate 7872 (Jacob Dodge [Jr.], 1814), :25 Inventory (1814), :29 Appraisal (1818), :39-40 Widow's Thirds (1817). Subsequent title history of the portion of the Jacob Dodge Jr. Farm that included the site of the Waldren-Brown House: Essex County Probate 37647 (Mary Dodge, 1855), :24 Inventory (1855). Essex County Deeds 529:224 (Moses Dorman, guardian, et al. to Abraham Dodge, 1855); and 529:225 (Ira B. Dodge et al. to Abraham Dodge, 1855). To William Preston Dodge (1884–1927) who bequeathed it to his son Louis A. Dodge (1886–1968). *Maps*: W. A. Brown (1856, undated copy), 1971.10.044. Walling (1856), "W. Dodge Est." House, the occupant being William T. Dodge (1797–1850), husband of Mary (Dodge) Dodge (1790–1852) and son-in-law of Jacob Dodge Jr. (1765–1814). Beers (1872), 95, "S. P. Burnham & T. P. Dodge" House, the occupants being Simon Peter Burnham (1832–1912) and Timothy Pickering Dodge (1811–1885), who were both sons-in-law of William T. and Mary (Dodge) Dodge, the husbands of Lydia Folsom Dodge (1824–1911) and Mary Ann Dodge (1811–1861) respectively. Walker (1884), 87, "S. P. Burnham & T. P. Dodge House." Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #21. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 33, "S. P. Burnham" House. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.046. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.083. Lillie (1976), "Edward Waldron [*sic*]" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 118:92 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Estate of Louis A. Dodge," 1971). *Other References*: L. A. Dodge (1968), III-5-6. Corcoran (2024) 128-130. Corcoran (2025), 219.

263 Essex County Deeds 135:51 (Edward [Jr.] and Abigail Waldren to Joseph White, 1777), first parcel. Worcester County Deeds 128:295 (Edward Waldron [*sic*] [Jr.] to Edward Waldron [*sic*] [3rd], 1794), sale of the east side of his house in Sterling. Worcester County Probate 61162 (Edward Waldron [*sic*], 1822). Essex Institute (1904), 80, 83, 94, 129, 172, 173, 223. Tapley (1976), 132. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #195798579.

264 Town of Sterling, MS (1766–1860), 47 (frame 119). Worcester County Probate 61162:24 Assent (1822). Essex Institute (1904), 14, 80, 94, 173, 223. Tapley (1976), 132. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #195798689 and 195798753.

265 Cole (1943), 91. Cole says the price was £320, but this amount seems to be a typographical error, since it is roughly 10x the assessed value of other enslaved men at mid-century (see Appendix B).

266 Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 316. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45.

267 Essex County Deeds 146:67 (Joseph and Elizabeth White to Nathan Brown, 1784), first deed, first parcel. Essex County Probate 3743 (Nathan Brown, 1792), :5-6 Will (1792). A witness to the will was Wallis Brown (1770–1823), son of Capt. Pelatiah Brown. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #40731023. Corcoran (2025), 40. Daughter Mary was living in Ipswich (perhaps Hamilton) at the time of her 1770 engagement to Israel Andrews Dodge. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:106; Essex Institute (1904), 95, 108; and Essex Institute (1910), 2:62, 137. Sons James and Nathan Jr. may have been baptized at Ipswich in 1739 and 1743, respectively; see Essex Institute (1910), 1:49, 52.

268 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63, 202. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

269 Essex County Deeds 13:86 (John [Jr.] and Hannah Abbey to Nathaniel Waldren, 1696), first parcel; and 13:87 (Zacheus [*sic*] and Martha Goldsmith to Nathaniel Waldren, 1696), first parcel. Essex County Probate 28750 (Edward Waldron [*sic*], 1746), :3 Division of Real Estate (1749). L. A. Dodge, MS (1908), sheet 1. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.046. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.081. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.083. The bridge was 742.5 feet southwest of the point where Larch Row crosses the river. Current-day Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov.

Road 1, from the meeting house to Abbey's Bridge, was laid out in 1696, replacing a road in this vicinity that had been laid out earlier. The portion of the road to the southeast of Abbey's Bridge was built (or possibly rebuilt) in 1711. Essex County Deeds 13:86 (John [Jr.] and Hannah Abbey to Nathaniel Waldren, 1696), first parcel, bounded "eastwardly by the highway or common land." Weaver (1864), 10. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 6, 132, 160. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 32, 55-56, 57, 58-60, 66-67, 69-70, 91. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 24-25, 26-28. Its notional course west of Abbey's Bridge is shown as a dashed line; its course south east of Abbey's Bridge is per L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.083.

Road 2 was laid out by 1661. Essex County Deeds 30:109 (settlement of bounds between Joshua Wallis and William Rogers, 1716). Wenham Historical Society (1930), 20. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 70, 75-76, 118-119, 176 (Joshua Wallis erroneously rendered as "Joshua Williams"). Lillie (1976).

270 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 63: "[#]197. June 26. An infant Negro Child of Mr Nathan Brown." The vertically oriented text is "Deaths, Continued." 202: "[#]319. May 11. A young Negro Child of Mr Nathan Brown."

271 In 1752 Lieut. William Dodge gave farms in Ipswich and Wenham to his adult sons Lieut. Richard (1703–1778), William Jr. (1705–1777), Capt. Jacob (1716–1792) and Skipper (1721–1785)—his other adult son Isaac (1708–1791) having moved to Boxford. Essex County Deeds 118:122 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), first parcel; 119:154 ([Lieut. William Dodge to William Dodge [Jr], 1752); 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel; and 117:90 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel, with life estate for Skipper Dodge. See J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41, 72-73 for Isaac Dodge's move to Boxford.

Title History: To Josiah Dodge Jr. (1698–after 1772) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 124:54 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1742[/3]), first parcel; 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel; 156:57 ([Capt.] Jacob Dodge to Jacob Dodge [Jr.], 1785); and 156:58 ([Capt.] Jacob Dodge to Abraham Dodge, 1785). Essex County Probate 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), :22 Will (1788). Essex County Deeds 178:29 (Jacob Jr. and Mary Dodge to Abraham Dodge, 1803). Essex County Probate 37519 (Abraham Dodge, 1842), :8-9 Will (1839), :13 Inventory (1842). Essex County Deeds 329:150 (Abraham Dodge Jr. [*sic*] to Levi Dodge, 1842); 336:179 (Abraham Jr. [*sic*] and Elizabeth C. Dodge to Levi Dodge, 1843); and 336:196 (Levi and Matilda Dodge to Elizabeth C. Dodge, 1843). Essex County Probate 37522 (Abraham Dodge 3rd, 1856), :6 Inventory (1856), :15-17 Widow's Thirds (1857). Essex County Deeds 579:69 (Abraham Dodge, administrator, to Elizabeth C. Dodge, 1857); 681:30 (Elizabeth C. Dodge to Simeon Dodge [3rd], 1865); 1357:129 (Simeon [3rd] and Betsey Dodge to Charles S. Tuckerman, 1892), first parcel; 1578:265 (Charles S. and Ruth A. Tuckerman to Oscar A. Wheatland, 1899), first parcel; 1578:270 (Oscar A. and Abba D. Willard to George Wheatland, mortgage, 1899), first parcel;

1677:329 (George and Florence S. Wheatland to Harriet M. Jenckes, 1902), first parcel; 1707: 165 (Harriet M. Jenckes to George F. French, 1903), first parcel; 1724:196 (George F. French to George L. Allen, 1903), first parcel; 1724:197 (George L. Allen to Harriet M. Jenckes, 1903), first parcel; 1898:513 (Harriet M. Jenckes to Eben D. Jordan, 1907), first parcel; 1899:350 (Eben D. and May S. Jordan to Dorothy May Jordan, 1907), first parcel; 2401:363 (Dorothy and Monroe Douglas Robinson to Gail S. Hughes, 1918), first parcel; 2405:113 (Monroe Douglas Robinson to Gail S. Hughes, release, 1918); 2715:499 (Gail S. and Keith McLeod to Phillips Ketchum, 1927), first parcel; 2920:413 (Phillips and Margot A. Ketchum to Gail Stephens, 1932), first parcel; 3077:230 (Gail Stephens and Kerwin W. Kinard to First National Bank of Boston and Bradley W. Palmer, trustees, 1936), first parcel; 3867:439 (First National Bank of Boston, trustee, to Richard S. Robie, 1951); 3867:442 (Richard S. and Helen M. Robie to Louis W. Cabot, 1951); 3867:443 (Richard S. and Helen M. Robie to Louis W. Cabot, 1951); 3867:444 (Richard S. and Helen M. Robie to Louis W. Cabot, 1951); and 3867: 445 (Richard S. and Helen M. Robie to Louis W. Cabot, 1951). *Maps*: W. A. Brown (1856, undated copy), 1971.10.076. Walling (1856), "A. Dodge 3d" House. Beers (1872), 95, "S. Dodge" House. Walker (1884), 87, "S. Dodge" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 33, "Miss D. Jordan" House. R. C. Allen (1936, undated copy). R. C. Allen (1938). Essex County Deeds Plan 121:99 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Louis W. & Marie Louise Cabot," 1972); 167:35 ("Subdivision Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass." 1981); and 219:48 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass., Property of Robert & Barbara Anne Pauley," 1986). L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.029. Lillie (1976), "Jacob Dodge c.1745" House. *Other References*: ~~August 15, 1891 and January 2, 1892 photographs by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, BHC200 and BHC360.~~ BHC494 May 30, 1892. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 131 (barn). Cole (1943), opposite 70. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992) 93 (Simeon Dodge House). Corcoran (2024), 125, 130-141. Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 67-70, 92, 162, 167. For Dodge genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74, 122-123; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #41854933, 60861983, 60864751 and 61216386.

272 Cole (1943), photograph opposite 70, the caption of which says that the house was moved twice and was owned in 1943 by Preble Motley. This site was vacant in 1923 and 1925 per Crowley and Lunt (1923), 807 and Crowley and Lunt (1925), 836: no house between those of Louis A. Dodge/William P. Dodge and Edward B. Cole. However, the site was occupied by E. Preble Jr. in 1927. Crowley and Lunt (1927), 874. Preble Motley was Edward Preble Motley Jr. (1895–1965). Essex County Deeds Plan 15:9 ("Plan of Land Near Wenham Neck," 1905); and Essex County Deeds 2726:144 (Susan D. Parker to Edward Preble Motley [Jr.], 1927), no mention of buildings. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #188847885.

Dendrochronology is needed to determine how much of the existing house dates from Josiah Dodge Jr.'s tenure vs. Capt. Jacob Dodge's tenure. A gambrel roof seems a bit early for a 1730s-vintage house, but not impossible. And, of course, the current roofline might reflect a later renovation.

273 J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:35, 41, 61-62. Essex Institute (1904), 25, 28, 109, 111. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 94, 97. For occupation as tanner see Essex County Deeds 124:54 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1742[/3]) and 124:59 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1742[/3]). For references to Josiah Dodge Jr. in Lunenburg town records between 1753 and 1762—Josiah by then using the title Lieutenant—see W. A. Davis (1896), 156, 159-161, 165, 186, 199.

L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.029, sited "Claflin's tan yard" on the same spot as the Josiah Dodge Jr. House. Cole (1943), 54, seems to agree with him. But the unanswered question is whether (a) Josiah Dodge Jr. built his house on the prior site of

Claflin's tan yard or (b) Cole and Louis Dodge conflated the Josiah Dodge Jr. tan yard with the Claflin tan yard along Longham Brook.

274 Town of Wenham, MS (1695–1743), unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 72). Essex Institute (1904), 180.

275 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 119. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904). "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.

276 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 119, 122. Essex Institute (1904), 84. Phyllis was baptized on the same day as Bilhah, daughter of Sharper (Samuel Gott household) and Deborah (Joseph Herrick household of Topsfield).

277 Town of Wenham, MS (1695–1743), unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 72): "An Intent of marrige [*sic*] Between Addam [*sic*] Black and Jean Black Both of Wenham servants to Richard Dodge and Josiah Dodge was published November 13 1735." An alternate interpretation of this text is that both Adam and Jean were enslaved jointly by both Richard and Josiah Dodge.

278 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 122: [#]136 June 3 Phillis [*sic*] Daughter of Adam & Jenny negros [*sic*]." 119: [#]193 Nov: 20 Jenny, the Servant of Mr Josiah Dodge."

279 Essex County Deeds 124:54 (Josiah [Jr.] and Prudence Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1742[/3]), first parcel; and 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel. For boundaries: Essex County Deeds 156:58 ([Capt.] Jacob Dodge to Abraham Dodge, 1785). W. A. Brown (1856, undated copy), 1971.10.044. W. A. Brown (1856, 1941 copy), 1973.52.041. R. C. Allen (1936, undated copy). R. C. Allen (1938). Essex County Deeds Plan 69:69 ("Plan of a Portion of Larch Row," 1938); and 121:99 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Property of Louis W. & Mary Louise Cabot," 1972). Current-day Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov.

280 Beers (1872), 95.

281 Unidentified photographer. Cole (1943), opposite 70.

282 Essex County Probate 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:65-66, 73-74. Essex Institute (1903), 37. Essex Institute (1904), 24, 102, 108, 109, 132, 190, 193. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:419, 420, 423. Essex Institute (1910), 1:289, 2:137, 139, 235. Corcoran (2023), 47. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #42395183, 47850983, 47853885 and 60955355. Corcoran (2025), 56, 67-70. For partial ownership of the Dodge Mill Complex see Essex County Deeds 124:54; 124:61 (Phineas Dodge et al. to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1741); and 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759). See also Appendix F.

283 [Capt.] J. Dodge, MS (no date), three loose unnumbered pages (for the years 1758–1762), 23, 35, 65, 71, 73, 79, 137, 155, 163, 195, 197, 240, 255, 273.

284 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 123. Baptism not also in Essex Institute (1904).

285 It is an assumption that the Adam Black in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in 1735 and the Adam Black in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1738 were the same man. Rationale: We know that Adam Black was living in 1742 because it is clear that the baptismal records for Adam Jr. and Jenny are for the children of Adam Black, the man who married

Jean/Jenny Black. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 119, 122. The two baptismal records provide no surname for either Adam or "Jenny"—which tells us that Adam Black's surname didn't always appear in records of events after 1735. Neither of the baptismal records provides the name of Adam or Jenny's enslaver(s).

286 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 119: "[#]200. Feb: 28 Adam, Son [*sic*] of Adam & Jenny, Negroes." Essex Institute (1904), 84.

287 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 196). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 179. Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181, 226. Cole (1943), 91.

Archelaus and Phoebe's wedding was performed by Rev. Joseph Swain in November of 1762, but Swain didn't record their wedding in the Congregational Church's records. Indeed, Swain stopped recording weddings in the church's records in January of 1762 and started recording them with the town clerk instead. For Swain's records of weddings for 1750 through January 1762 see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 31-32, 85-87.

The Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 recorded one anonymous person in Dodge's household. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45. Given the fact that Archelaus was living in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1762 and in 1789, we can assume that this anonymous person was him.

288 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55: "[#]14: July 23 Adam a Servant of Josiah Dodges."

289 *Ibid.*, 193: "[#]373. April 26. an Infant negro Child of Capt. Jacob Dodge."

290 *Ibid.*, 179: "[#]347. July 17. Archelaus, a negro Servant of Capt. Jacob Dodge. *Ætat* 75. Atrophy." A portion of the phrase "Deaths Continued" appears along the margin.

291 [Capt.] J. Dodge, MS (no date), three loose unnumbered pages (for the years 1758–1762), 23, 35, 65, 71, 73, 79, 137, 155, 163, 195, 197, 240, 255.

292 *Ibid.*, 71, 137, 240, 255, 273.

293 *Ibid.*, 71, 137.

294 Town of Ipswich, MS (1734–1783), 117 (Ancestry.com, Ipswich Town Records, Earmarks with Births, Marriages, Deaths and Marriage Intentions, frame 119). [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 32. [Capt.] J. Dodge, MS (no date), 71, 137. Manchester Selectmen's Minutes, MS (October 1781), Overseers of the Poor Records, 150:158:

> The Clerk directed to write the Selectmen of Ipswich acquainting them [with] a Negro Boy named Jettero [*sic*], born at Ipswich but had lived some time with Mr. Dodge of Wenham, is now sick in our Alms house & that a considerable expense will accrue to the Town of Ipswich if he belongs there, unless soon removed to Ipswich.

Town of Ipswich, MS (1879), 253 (Ancestry.com, Ipswich Church Records, Earmarks, Fence Records with Births, Marriages and Deaths, frame 163). Essex Institute (1910), 2:471, 472. Marriage not also in Essex Institute (1904).

295 [Capt.] J. Dodge, MS (no date), 137.

296 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 193. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

297 Essex County Probate 7870:22, Will (1788), bequest to widow. Violet does not appear in Dodge's probate inventory of 1793. She was not the same Violet who was baptized in 1756 while part of the Skipper Dodge household. That Violet would have been at least 32 years old

in 1788, while the Violet in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household was identified as a "girl" in 1788.

298 Although Hardesty's focus is on pre-Revolution Boston, his model replaces the traditional dichotomous conception of enslavement and freedom with a continuum of unfreedom. Hardesty (2016), 2.

299 Dodge's probate inventory—taken in 1793 and filed in 1794—includes reference to two "black boy[s]." But each of the two references was crossed out prior to the filing of the inventory. The boys are not mentioned in Dodge's 1788 will. Essex County Probate 7870:19, Inventory (1793). Three people of color (ages not indicated) were part of the Jacob Dodge household at the time of the 1790 Federal census. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1790:690. The three people were likely these two boys and one other unidentified person (who may or may not have experienced enslaved status earlier in life).

300 Essex County Probate 7792 (Barnabas Dodge, 1739), :95 Inventory (1739). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:65-66.

301 Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778); and 7870:19, Inventory (1793). Pompey himself does not appear in either inventory.

302 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

303 Kenney et al., MS (1839). Abraham Dodge (1764–1841), Lydia C. Dodge (1778–1840), Solome Dodge (1785–1851), Jacob Dodge (1787–1869), Mary Dodge (1790–1852), Anna Dodge (1791–1868), Maj. Andrew Dodge (1791–1876), Betsy Lee (1792–1840), James Lee (1793–1862), Ezra Dodge (1794–1872), Sophia Dodge (1798–1884), Abraham Dodge 2nd (1804–1887), Sally Dodge (1805–1892), Augusta E. Dodge (1806–1894), Adoniram J. Dodge (1808–1889), Susan Dodge (1808–1865), Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875), Esther Dodge (1809–1882), Ira B. Dodge (1812–1888), James L. Dodge (1813–1899), William Langmaid (1817–1856), Susan H. Dodge (1817–1862), Sally L. Dodge (1817–1905), Mary Ann Dodge (1818–1897), and Sarah L. Langmaid (1821–1877). See Appendix I.

304 Essex County Deeds 118:122 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), first parcel; 119:154 ([Lieut. William Dodge to William Dodge [Jr.], 1752); 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel; and 117:90 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel, with life estate for Skipper Dodge. See J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41, 72-73 for Isaac Dodge's move to Boxford.

305 Thanks go to James Tanzer for sharing this hypothesis, noticing that Skipper's mother was 41 years old when Skipper was born.

Of interest: Skipper Dodge's niece Sarah (Dodge) Lee (1754–1841) had "been deranged at times ever since early in life." Essex Institute (1904), 210. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74.

306 Essex County Deeds 117:91 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to Skipper Dodge, 1757).

307 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 27:2 (John Bare [*sic*] to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1714), first parcel; and 117:90 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel, with life estate for Skipper Dodge. By inheritance to Skipper's grandchildren Josiah Jr. (1768–1843) and Benjamin Swett (1771–1853). Essex County Deeds 157:134 (Josiah [Jr.] and Benjamin Swett to Josiah Swett, 1793). See also Essex County Deeds 185:285 (Prudence and Joel Richards to Josiah Swett, 1808); 185:285 ([Dr.] Jonathan Swett to Josiah Swett, 1804) and 185:285 (Ichabod and Mehitable Dodge to Josiah Swett, 1805) for confirmation of Swett's title. Essex County Deeds 157:135 (Josiah and Prudence Swett to [Dea.] William Dodge, 1794), first parcel. Essex County Probate 8007 ([Dea.] William Dodge, 1824), :8 Inventory (1824),

24-acre "Sweat [*sic*] place;" and 45582 (Susan D. Lord, 1875), :3 Will (1873). Essex County Deeds 1331:173 (Hannah Edwards et al. to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1825); and 1331:175 (Abraham and Susan D. Lord to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1841). Essex County Probate 37530 ([Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1876), :9 Will (1870), :13 Inventory (1876); 60656 (Susan L. Wilkins, 1884); 208279 (Harriet A. Wilkins, 1943) and 221955 (Mary A. Leach, 1947). Essex County Deeds 4180:594 (C. Arthur and Martha F. Leach to Vincent W. Jones, 1955). Gap in title history. Essex County Deeds 5450:646 (Harriet R. Nikas and Priscilla M. Lawson to George H. W. Hayes II, 1967), first parcel; 5450:647 (George H. W. Hayes II to Frederick R. and Priscilla M. Lawson, 1967); and 6703:336 (Frederick R. and Priscilla M. Lawson to William LaC. and Sandra Belock Phippen, 1980). *Maps*: No candidate house found on Walling (1856), Beers (1872) or Walker (1884). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "Heirs S. Wilkins" property. Essex County Deeds Plan 1939:69 ("Plan of Land Belonging to Harriet A. Wilkins & Mary A. Leach, Located on Dodge's Row," 1939); 109:24 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Harriet R. Nikas & Priscilla M. Lawson," 1967); and 1955:470 ("Plan Showing Portion of Land Belonging to C. Arthur Leach," 1955). *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), 140 (two guide boards at Lieut. William Dodge's house), 207 (street widening, William Dodge). Corcoran (2024), 142-148. Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 91, 215. For Dodge genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74-75, 122-123, 183-184.

308 Essex County Probate 7979 (Skipper Dodge, 1785). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41, 74-75. Essex Institute (1904), 29, 99, 112, 135, 193, 194. Essex Institute (1910), 2:108, 141. Perley (1913), 220. Corcoran (2025), 91. For occupation see Essex County Deeds 117:90 ([Capt.] Jacob and Martha Dodge to Skipper Dodge, 1743[/4?]) and 117:91 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Skipper Dodge, 1762).

309 Cole (1943), 91 assigned enslaved men "Jack" and "Zip" (i.e., "Sip" or "Scipio") to the Skipper Dodge household, citing Skipper Dodge's account book. That book, however, couldn't be found during the research for this book. Jack and Scipio are excluded from this book's treatment of the Skipper Dodge household because there's a strong possibility that Cole misinterpreted the debits and credits in Lieut. Richard Dodge's account book (Jack) and Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.'s account book ("Sip").

310 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 69. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

311 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 46, 56. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904).

312 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 61, 204. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 196). Essex Institute (1904), 84, 180, 181, 227.

Archelaus and Phoebe's wedding was performed by Rev. Joseph Swain in November of 1762, but Swain didn't record their wedding in the Congregational Church's records. Indeed, Swain stopped recording weddings in the church's records in January of 1762 and started recording them with the town clerk instead. For Swain's records of weddings for 1750 through January 1762 see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 31-32, 85-87.

313 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 204. Essex Institute (1904), 84.

314 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 64. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

315 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 180. Death not recorded in Essex Institute (1904). (Why wasn't the name of the boy's mother included in the record? Had she died?)

316 Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778); and 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), :19, Inventory (1793). Pompey himself does not appear in either inventory.

317 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

318 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 69: "[#]49. Feb. 9. Hampshire Negro Servant of Skipper Dodge."

319 *Ibid.*, 56: [#]29 Feb. 29. Violet Negro Maid of Skipper Dodge."

320 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 196): "Nov^{r} 25 Argalus [*sic*] negro Ser^{t} of m^{r} [*sic*] Jacob Dodge & Phebe [*sic*] mollato [*sic*] Ser^{t} of Rich Hubb^{d} Dodge Both of Wenham."

Archelaus and Phoebe's wedding was performed by Rev. Joseph Swain in November of 1762, but Swain didn't record their wedding in the Congregational Church's records. Indeed, Swain stopped recording weddings in the church's records in January of 1762 and started recording them with the town clerk instead. For Swain's records of weddings for 1750 through January 1762 see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 31-32, 85-87.

321 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 61: [#]65. Feb: 16. Phebe [*sic*], a Mollatto [*sic*], Wife of Archelaus a Negro."

322 *Ibid.*, 204: [#]345. Sep^{t} 7. Caesar Son of Phebe [*sic*], a Malotto [*sic*] Woman, & Servant Boy of Skipper Dodge."

323 *Ibid.*, 64: [#]189 8 Decembr: 8th Flora an Infant Negro Child belonging to Phebe [*sic*] a Mollatto [*sic*], & wife of Archelaus."

324 *Ibid.*, 180: "May 8. [#]528. a young negro boy Child of Archelaus."

325 Farm A: Essex County Deeds 27:2 (John Bare [*sic*] to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1714), first parcel; boundaries shown here are grounded on Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "Heirs S. Wilkins" property. Part of its southern boundary was along Longham Brook, but the point at which the boundary diverged from the book is conjectural.

Site B: R. Dodge, MS (1795).

Farm C: Essex County Deeds 205:170 (Mehitable Dodge et al. to [Dea.] William Dodge, 1815), first parcel; boundaries grounded on the Private Way shown in Essex County Deeds Plan 1438:376 ("Plan of Mary R. Henry Property, Wenham, Mass.," 1895).

Farm D: The farm's northern boundary was Longham Brook per Essex County Deeds 202:181 (Israel Dodge to Joshua Cleaves, 1812), first parcel; 207:30 (Joshua Cleaves to Benjamin Edwards [4th], mortgage, 1815), first parcel; and 222:45 (Sarah F. Cleaves, administratrix, to David Standley, 1819). However, we don't know how far upriver the boundary went. The absence of lines (solid or dotted) along the parcel's northeast, east and south boundaries is meant to show a representation of how a 54-acre property *might* have fit in this space. Further research of abutting properties might clarify the Thomas Dodge Farm's boundaries.

Farm E: Essex County Deeds 120:224 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Benjamin Edwards Jr., 1750[/1]); boundaries grounded on the Private Way shown in Plan 1433:271 (1894) and the "Mrs. J. P. Conant" and "T. C. Hollander" properties shown in Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35.

Current-day Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. Solid-line boundaries represent high conviction, while dotted-line boundaries are lower conviction.

326 Curtis (1889), 1; and Curtis (1889, later transcription). See Appendix G.

327 The "heirs of the late Maj. Andrew Dodge" also owned property on the south side of Larch Row at the time Curtis wrote his article. A barn that was on the south side of Larch Row is visible in the photograph on page 173 and is mentioned in Essex County Deeds 1331:

173 (Hannah Edwards et al.to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1825). But there is no competing site on the south side of the road that fits the description of a "hill side in the rear of an old barn." For the property on the south side of Larch Row see Essex County Deeds 1331:173 (Edwards et al. to Dodge, 1825); and 1331:175 (Abraham and Susan D. Lord to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1841). Essex County Probate 37530 ([Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1876), :9 Will (1870), :13 Inventory (1876); 60656 (Susan L. Wilkins, 1884); 208279 (Harriet A. Wilkins, 1943) and 221955 (Mary A. Leach, 1947). See also Massachusetts Historical Commission, Inventory of Historic and Archaeological Assets, Larch Row Burial Ground, WNH-HA-4 (2025), which leverages information in Corcoran (2024).

328 *Early Title History*: Nathaniel Waldren (ca.1659–1751) assembled what would become his farm to the northeast of the current-day intersection of Larch Row and Walnut Road in multiple transactions. Two of those transactions—recorded at Essex County Deeds 7:87 and 31:153—account for fifteen or sixteen of the 24 acres that he mortgaged in 1724.

- Essex County Deeds 7:87 (John Knolton [*sic*] to Nathaniel Waldron [*sic*], 1685[/6]) recorded the sale of ten acres that Knowlton had bought of John Bear [*sic*]. The Bear/Bare-to-Knowlton deed did not get recorded, and Bear/Bare did not record his deed of acquisition. (See Essex County Deeds 27:2 (John Bare [*sic*] to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1714), first parcel, for the sale of a house, barn and twenty acres to the southeast of the intersection of Larch Row and Dodges Row. The parcels in 7:87 and 27:2 were likely across the road from each other.)
- Essex County Deeds 31:153 (John and Anna Edwards to Nathaniel Waldron [*sic*], 1716), describes a house and "five or six" acre lot that abutted property of Phineas Dodge (1688–1759) to the southwest. The eastern boundary of Phineas Dodge's homestead corresponded with that of the property at current-day 177 Larch Row. (See Essex County Deeds 43:5 (Nathaniel Waldron [*sic*] to Benjamin Lynde et al., mortgage, 1723[/4]), first parcel; and R. C. Allen (1938).) For prior history of this lot see Essex County Deeds 11:60 (John Carpenter to Samuel Dodge, 1688), five acres and 60 poles of land with "a frame of a house;" and 30:102 (Mary Dodge et al. to John Edwards, 1716), a quitclaim deed that confirms the sale of the lot by Samuel Dodge to John Edwards in 1698.

Subsequent Title History: Essex County Deeds 43:5 (Nathaniel Waldron [*sic*] to Benjamin Lynde et al., mortgage, 1723[/4]), first parcel; 61:269 (Nathaniel and Abigail Waldren to [Dea.] Ebenezer Waldren, 1732), first parcel (about 26 acres with house and barn); and 83:138 ([Dea.] Ebenezer and Hannah Waldren to Nathaniel Waldren, 1732), first parcel. By inheritance from Dea. Ebenezer Waldren (1703–1760), who died intestate, to his son Silas Waldren (1752–1819). Essex County Deeds 141:196 (Silas Waldren to [Dea.] William Dodge, 1784), first parcel. Essex County Probate 8007 ([Dea.] William Dodge, 1824), :8 Inventory (1824), item #1. Essex County Deeds 1331:174 (Hannah Edwards et al. to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1825). Essex County Probate 37530 ([Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1876), :9 Will (1870), :13 Inventory (1876), bequest to daughter Susan L. Wilkins (1831–1884). Essex County Probate 60656 (Susan L. Wilkins, 1884); and 107519 (Charles Wilkins, 1910). Essex County Deeds 2635:537 (Mary A. Leach and Harriet Adeline Wilkins to Mary C. Osgood, 1925). Essex County Probate 329652 (Mary C. Osgood, 1975). Essex County Deeds 6167:790 (Edward H. Osgood et. al., trustees, to Robert N. Jr. and Nancy W. Spofford, 1975); 6806:13 (Robert N. Jr. and Nancy W. Spofford to Robert N. Spofford Jr., 1981); 7082:555 (Robert N. Spofford Jr. to David F. Jr. and Mary E. Hall, 1983); 13430:230 (David F. Jr. and Mary E. Hall to James M. White 3rd, 1996); and 19139:417 (James M. White 3rd to James M. 3rd and Helen M. White, 2002). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "A. Dodge" House. Beers (1872), 95, "A. Dodge" House. Walker (1884), 87, "Chas. Wilkins" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "Heirs S. Wilkins" House. Lillie (1976), "Silas Waldron [*sic*]" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 134:79 ("Plan of Land in

Wenham, Property of Estate of Mary C. Osgood," 1975); and 164:79 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass., Property of Robert N. Jr. & Nancy W. Spofford," 1981). *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940). L. A. Dodge (1968), II-5, III-5. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.I (2017). For Waldren genealogy see Essex County Probate 28764 (Silas Waldron [*sic*] et al., guardianship, 1760); and 28747 ([Dea.] Ebenezer Waldron [*sic*], 1760). Essex Institute (1904), 80, 223. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #513-62796. For Dodge and Wilkins genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:183. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #52569647, 52569683, 54078664, 71195115 and 71195224.

It seems odd that a non-enslaver would allow burial of enslaved people on his property, even if the enslaver were a member of the non-enslaver's family. One wonders, therefore, whether Dea. Ebenezer Waldren (1703–1760) and/or his son Silas Waldren (1752–1819) may have been an unrecorded enslaver(s).

329 Essex County Deeds 61:269 (Nathaniel and Abigail Waldren to [Dea.] Ebenezer Waldren, 1732). R. C. Allen (1938). Current-day Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov.

330 Cole (1943), 74, 91. Cole lived at 204 Larch Row, across Dodges Row from the site of the former Skipper Dodge Farm. Crowley and Lunt (1942), 920, 928. Crowley and Lunt (1944), 920. Essex County Deeds 4512:464 (Adeline P. Cole to Benjamin E. Cole, 1944).

331 For Dot Maciejowski's recollection of the site see Nagazina (2005), a copy of which appears in Appendix M.

For Albie Dodge's recollection of the site see Hauck (2013), 214. In email correspondence between Hauck and Corcoran, November 2, 2023, Hauck identified Albie Dodge as his source for the seven-burials statistic, saying that Dodge shared that information when Hauck was interviewing Dodge for the Dodge biography that appears at Hauck (2013), 458-475.

332 Unidentified. No candidate found in Federal censuses for 1850–1880 or 1900 (the 1890 Federal census having been lost in a fire). See also page 251.

333 T. Johnson (1975), a copy of which appears in Appendix L. See also "Slave Cematary" [*sic*], MS (1965), unsigned notes:

> [A]ccording to tradition
> Dodge's [*sic*] Row
> Driveway # of Donald Bell's House on Dodge's [*sic*] Row.

Essex County Deeds Plan 1939:69 ("Plan of Land Belonging to Harriet A. Wilkins & Mary A. Leach," 1939); and 109:24 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Harriet R. Nikas & Priscilla M. Lawson," 1967). Crowley and Lunt (1954), 941. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #614-46903 and 126434371.

334 See Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation & Essex National Heritage Commission (2005), 5, 8, 11, 17. See also Massachusetts Historical Commission, Inventory of Historic and Archaeological Assets, Dodges Row Burial Ground, WNH-HA-6 (2025), which leverages information in Corcoran (2024).

335 Lieut. John Dodge apparently had financing (for construction of the gristmill, at least) from Thomas Fiske Sr. (bp. 1630–1707), who also had an interest in the White's Mill Complex. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 84. *Maps*: R. Dodge, MS (1795). Samuel Brown (1806, undated copy), "Orne's Mills" and "Dodge[']s Sawmill." Hales (1825), "Mills." Lillie (1976), "Saw & Grist Mill of Lt. Richard Dodge." *Other References*: Robinson (1879), 34. J. T. Dodge (1892), 46:388. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:21, 35, 71. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 65, 67-69, 76, 83, 85, 153, 157, 158. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 89. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 34-35. L. A. Dodge (1947), 7. L. A. Dodge (1968), I-8. For the landing place to the east

of Dodges Row adjacent to the dam see Essex County Deeds 28:228 (Josiah and Sarah Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1713).

A tan yard abutted the mill complex during the second half of the eighteenth century. Essex County Deeds 111:232 (Skipper Dodge to Joshua Orne, 1764); and 178:254 (William Orne et al. to Joshua Orne [Jr.], 1796. Essex County Probate 20081 (Joshua Orne, 1784), :8 Inventory (1794), "tanyard [*sic*] and bark house."

336 Essex County Deeds 178:254 (Israel [Jr.] and Abigail Dodge to Joshua Orne [Jr.], 1797). L. A. Dodge (1968), I-8. The deed describes the complex as "standing on the stream leading from Long Hamedon (so called) into Miles River." The name of Longham Brook, therefore, appears to be a derivation of "Long Hamedon."

337 Although R. Dodge, MS (1795) omits the gristmill, Essex County Probate 7799 (Benjamin Dodge, 1810), :7 Inventory (1810) includes both the gristmill and the sawmill. J. T. Dodge (1892), 46:388. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:21.

338 Appendix F.

339 [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 26.

340 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 16.

341 R. Dodge, MS (1795), detail. Hales (1825), detail.

342 November 11, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran. East side of Dodges Row.

343 November 11, 2023 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran. West side of Dodges Row. The current Dodges Row bridge over Longham Brook was built in 1947. Essex County Deeds Plan 1946:850 ("Plan of Dodge's Row from the Beverly City Line to Larch Row," 1946), sheet 3. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:41 incorrectly identified the abutments as the mill's sluiceway.

344 *Title History*: Probably "Claflin's Lot" to Robert Claflin (d. 1690) or his son Daniel Claflin (1674–1775). To Josiah Dodge (1665–1715) but deed not recorded. Josiah Dodge identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Deeds 12:87 (John and Sarah Edwards to Thomas Edwards, 1697). Essex County Probate 7907 (Josiah Dodge, 1715), :38 Division of Real Estate (1719), "Claflin's Lot." Wenham Historical Society (1938), 89 (1713 description of new road "over the land of Josiah Dodge … beginning at the ford below the corn mill of said Dodge"). To Josiah's bother Andrew Dodge (1676–1748) but deed not recorded. Andrew Dodge identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Deeds 100:101 (Joseph and Hannah Edwards to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1740), first parcel. Essex County Probate 7780 (Andrew Dodge, 1748), :10 Will (1747), bequest to son Amos Dodge (1717–1755). Amos Dodge identified as an abutter owning land in this location in Essex County Deeds 120:224 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Benjamin Edwards Jr. [*sic*] [3rd], 1750[/1]). Gap in title history. To Phineas Dodge (1688–1759) but deed not recorded. Essex County Probate 7946 (Phineas Dodge, 1759), :13 Inventory (1759), "about six acres of land lying by the road leading from [Phineas Dodge's] house to Dodge's mills;" and 7799 (Benjamin Dodge, 1810), :20-21 Will (1804), bequests to widow Mehitable Dodge and Anne (Tafford) Brown (wife of William Brown, m. 1799). Essex County Deeds 205:170 (Mehitable Dodge et al. to [Dea.] William Dodge, 1815), first parcel. Essex County Probate 8007 ([Dea.] William Dodge, 1824), :8 Inventory (1824), seven-acre "Dodge Place." Essex County Deeds 303:16 (Joanna Dodge et al. to [Maj.] Andrew Dodge, 1837), first parcel; and 422:299 ([Maj.] Andrew and Ann Dodge to William Henry, 1848), first parcel. Essex County Probate 42124 (William H. Henry, 1870), :9 Inventory (1870), :16 Petition for License to Sell Real Estate (1870), :25-26 Affidavit of Sale of Real Estate (1871). Essex County Deeds 816:159 (George F. Dodge, administrator, to Mary R. Henry, 1871); 1433:271 (City of Salem, certificate as to taking of land, 1894); and 1438:376 (Mary R. Henry to City of Salem, 1895). *Maps*: Samuel Brown (1806,

undated copy). Walling (1856), "W. Henry" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. W. H. Henry" House. The house does not appear on Walker (1884), 87 but does appear on Essex County Deeds Plan 1433:271 (Land Taking for Longham Reservoir, 1894) and 1438:376 ("Plan of Mary R. Henry Property, Wenham, Mass.," 1895). Lillie (1976), "Benjamin Dodge" House. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), 207 (street widening, Benjamin Dodge). Corcoran (2024), 148, 156-157, 219. Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 63-64, 190.

345 Essex County Probate 7799 (Benjamin Dodge, 1810); and 7930 (Mehetabel [*sic*] Dodge, 1819). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:60. Essex Institute (1904), 106, 120, 190. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60948284. Mehitable Foster may have been the daughter of John and Mehitable (Burnham) Foster of Chebacco (Essex), baptized in 1736; see Essex Institute (1910), 1:147, 2:80, 169. For part ownership of the mill complex see Essex County Probate 7799:7, Inventory (1810), and Appendix F.

Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) should not be confused with Benjamin Dodge (1729–after 1797), son of Thomas Dodge (1700–1736), who owned the Thomas Dodge Farm across the street. Essex County Deeds 145:107 (Israel and Abigail Dodge to Benjamin Dodge, 1758); and 145:107 (Amos and Sarah Dodge to Benjamin Dodge, 1765). Essex County Probate 7975 (Sarah Dodge 1794), :6 Bond (1794), :4 Inventory (1795), :8 Will (1793). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:60 (#279), 62 (#304). Essex Institute (1904), 22.

346 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

347 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67: "[#]104.Aug't 19. Lucy Nego girl of Benjamin & Meh: Dodge."

348 Photographed June 17, 1895 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, x2017.313. This image previously appeared in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 100.

John Kilham (1710–1774) owned two different houses, the First John Kilham House and the Second John Kilham House. The First John Kilham House was formerly at 214 Main Street (see pages 97-98). The Second John Kilham House was standing as late as 1824 but was moved by 1837. It was moved twice, the second time to the T. C. Hollander estate (the property associated with 57 Dodges Row). Corcoran (2025), 27. One wonders whether the "C[harles] Holden" House in Walling (1856) was the relocated Second John Kilham House. Anonymous, MS (no date), "Wenham: Houses: Buildings That Have Been Moved" folder, however, seems to suggest otherwise.

349 Essex County Probate 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736); and 7975 (Sarah Dodge, 1794). Porter (1878), 237. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:62. White (1900), 1:50-51. Essex Institute (1904), 30, 72, 105, 159, 193.

350 For identification of Rocky Hill as the hill behind 57 Dodges Row see Walling (1856).

Title History: To Thomas Dodge (1700–1736), perhaps as a gift from his father Josiah Dodge (1665–1715), but deed not filed.

- Thomas Dodge identified as an abutter owning land in or near this location in Essex County Deeds 42:147 (Nehemiah Dodge to Province of Massachusetts Bay, mortgage, 1722[/3?]), the mortgage describing a property to the southwest of Grapevine Bridge (where Grapevine Road crosses Longham Brook); 58:200 (David and Elizabeth Stone to Benjamin Edwards [Jr.], 1731), the deed recording the sale of land near Grapevine Bridge; and 72:142 (John [3rd] and Hannah Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1736), second parcel, the deed recording the sale of land probably near the Beverly-Wenham town line to the southeast of Dodges Row.

- The Nehemiah Dodge lot described in Essex County Deeds 42:147 appears to be the same lot described in Essex County Deeds 150:181 (Sarah Dodge to Israel Dodge, 1786)—a 26-acre parcel, the northern boundary of which ran in part along the south bank of Longham Brook, the southern boundary of which abutted properties already owned by Benjamin Dodge and Israel Dodge. Benjamin Dodge was presumably Benjamin Dodge (1729–after 1797), son of Thomas Dodge (1700–1736). Benjamin Dodge (1729–after 1797) should not be confused with Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810), son of Phineas Dodge (1688–1759), who owned the Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) Farm across the street. Essex County Probate 7975 (Sarah Dodge 1794), :6 Bond (1794), :4 Inventory (1795), :8 Will (1793). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:60 (#279), 62 (#304). It is unclear whether Israel Dodge was Israel Dodge Sr. (b. 1736) or his son Israel Dodge Jr. (1759–1831), although he was likely the elder Israel, who was a son of Thomas Dodge (1700–1736).
- The Nehemiah Dodge lot described in Essex County Deeds 42:147, therefore, became part of the Thomas Dodge homestead at some point between 1722 or 1723 and 1736 (deed unrecorded). Therefore, it was an expansion of Thomas Dodge's homestead and not the part of the homestead that included the site of the Thomas Dodge House.
- "Heirs of Thomas Dodge" identified as abutters owning land in or near this location in Essex County Deeds 101:20 (Benjamin [Jr.] and Abigail Edwards to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1750[/1]), the deed describing a twelve-acre pasture at Rocky Hill; and 120:224 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Benjamin Edwards Jr., 1750[/1]), the deed recording the sale of the John Edwards House discussed on pages 174-176.

Essex County Probate 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736), :98-100 Division (1746), :102 Inventory (1736); 7971 (Sarah Dodge et al., guardianship, 1746), appointing guardians for Thomas Dodge's children Sarah, Lydia, Israel and Benjamin (1729–after 1797); and 7972 (Sarah Dodge, guardianship, 1748). Essex County Deeds 145:107 (Israel and Abigail Dodge to Benjamin Dodge, 1758); and 145:107 (Amos and Sarah Dodge to Benjamin Dodge, 1765). Gap in title history. To Benjamin Edwards Jr. (ca.1698?–1774) but deed not recorded. Essex County Probate 8592 (Benjamin Edwards [Jr.], 1774), :15 Inventory (1774), the inventory not specifying the composition of his real estate holdings. By inheritance from Benjamin Edwards Jr., who died intestate, to his son Benjamin Edwards 3rd (1727–1795). Essex County Probate 8593 (Benjamin Edwards [3rd], 1795), :5 Will (1779), bequest to sons John, Abraham and Benjamin 4th (1758–1828), :14 Inventory (1795), the inventory not specifying the composition of his real estate holdings. Essex County Deeds 191:33 (Abraham and Prudence Edwards to Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1795), "all my right in Rockey hill [*sic*] pasture, so-called." Essex County Probate 8594 (Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1828), :12, 17 Will (1816), bequest to son [Dea.] Benjamin Edwards 5th (1788–1859), :22 Inventory (1828), 25-acre "Rocky hill [*sic*] pasture." Essex County Probate 38294 ([Dea.] Benjamin Edwards [5th], 1859), :6 Will (1855), bequest to son Francis R. Edwards (1812–1891), :13 Inventory (1859), sixteen-acre Rocky Hill pasture. Essex County Deeds 605:209 (Abigail R. Edwards to Francis R. Edwards, 1860); and 1468:423 (Susan Edwards to Frank Edwards, 1896), second parcel. Essex County Probate 195058 (Theodore C. Hollander, 1939). Essex County Deeds 3284:183 (Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company, trustee, to Madeleine P. Kemble, 1942); 5996:787 (Madeleine P. Kemble to Arthur P. and Mary L. Charbonneau, 1973), first parcel; 5996:791 (Arthur P. and Mary L. Charbonneau to Security National Bank, mortgage, 1973), first parcel; 5996:795 (Arthur P. and Mary L. Charbonneau to Chestnut Hill Mortgage Corp., mortgage, 1973), first parcel; 6131:673 (Herbert C. Kahn, trustee, to Anthony L. Mancini, trustee, 1975), first parcel; and 6131:677 (Jordan L. Shapiro to Anthony L. Mancini, trustee, 1975), first parcel. *Maps*: Essex County Deeds Plan 72:86 ("Estate of T. C. Hollander, Wenham, Mass.," 1897); 1592:108 ("Plan of Land of T. C. Hollander, Wenham, Mass.," 1899); 38:36 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass.

Belonging to T. C. Hollander," 1922); 72:88 ("Portion of T. C. Hollander Estate, Wenham, Mass.," 1940); 72:89 ("Plan of T. C. Hollander Estate, Wenham, Mass.," 1940); and 133:51 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Prepared for C.B.N.A. Realty Trust," 1974).

351 John Kilham (1710–1774) did not record his deed when he acquired his house site. For the Second John Kilham House see Corcoran (2025), 27.

The 26-acre footprint of the former Nehemiah Dodge lot described in Essex County Deeds 150:181 (Sarah Dodge to Israel Dodge, 1786)—a lot that was acquired by Thomas Dodge at some point between 1722 or 1723 and 1736 (deed unrecorded)—seems to have included the site of the Second John Kilham House. The acquisition of this 26-acre lot was an expansion of Thomas Dodge's homestead; the lot was not the part of the homestead that included the site of the Thomas Dodge House. If the 26-acre lot did include the site of the Second John Kilham House, this argues against the idea that the Second John Kilham House and the Thomas Dodge House were the same building.

352 Essex County Probate 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736), :102 Inventory (1736).

353 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 12:87 (John and Sarah Edwards to Thomas Edwards, 1697); 61:261 (Thomas Edwards to Joseph Edwards, 1725); 100:101 (Joseph and Hannah Edwards to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1740), first parcel; and 120:224 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Benjamin Edwards Jr., 1750[/1]). By inheritance from Benjamin Edwards Jr., who died intestate, to his son Benjamin Edwards 3rd (1727–1795). Essex County Probate 8593 (Benjamin Edwards [3rd], 1795), :5 Will (1779), bequest to sons John, Abraham and Benjamin 4th. Essex County Deeds 162:269 (Jacob Edwards et al. to Abraham Edwards, 1797); 191:33 (Abraham and Prudence Edwards to Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1795); and 205:87 (John and Mary Edwards to Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1795). Essex County Probate 8594 (Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1828), :12, 17 Will (1816), :22 Inventory (1828), 40 acres with house, barn and other buildings on the north side of the road from the Brick Schoolhouse in Wenham to Beverly. Essex County Probate 38294 ([Dea.] Benjamin Edwards [5th], 1859), :6 Will (1855), :13 Inventory (1859), "the old homestead on the north side of the county road" consisting of 40 acres with house and other buildings bequeathed to son Francis Roberts Edwards (1812–1891). From Francis Roberts Edwards to his daughter Susan (1843–1909) and son Francis E. "Frank" Edwards (1857–1924). Essex County Deeds 1433:271 (City of Salem, certificate as to taking of land, 1894); and 1437:508 (Frank and Susan Edwards to City of Salem, 1895). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "B. Edward[s]" House. Beers (1872), 95, "F. R. Edwards" House. Walker (1884), 87, "F. R. Edwards" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 1433:271 (Land Taking for Longham Reservoir, 1894). L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.080. L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.084. Lillie (1976), "Benjamin Edwards" House. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), 207 (street widening, Benjamin Edwards). Corcoran (2024), 148, 158-159, 162. Corcoran (2025), 24-25, 94-95.

Note that the Benjamin Edwards House mentioned in L. A. Dodge (1947), 8, 9 and photograph opposite 10, located at 96 Dodges Row/346 Dodge Street, was owned by a different Benjamin Edwards. That house was owned by Benjamin Edwards (ca.1776–1863) son of Jacob Edwards (1746–1823). Essex County Deeds 221:22 (Jacob and Sarah Edwards to Richard Dodge, 1819). Walling (1856), "L. P. Lefavour" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. E. C. Dodge" House. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, BEV.633 (2017).

354 Essex County Deeds 120:224 (1751). Essex County Probate 8591 (Anna Edwards, 1805); and 8593 (Benjamin Edwards [3rd], 1795). Essex Institute (1904), 31, 32, 33, 88, 114. Corcoran (2025), 94.

For genealogical context: Srgt. Benjamin Edwards (ca.1662–1723), a much-younger brother of John Edwards (ca.1644–1697), married Martha Gaines in 1681. Their son Benjamin

Edwards Jr. (ca.1698?–1774) married Abigail Lamson (d. after 1774) in 1718. Their son Benjamin Edwards 3rd (1727–1795) married Anna Baker (1731–1804) in 1748. Their son Benjamin Edwards 4th (1758–1828) married Hannah Corning (1764–1840) in 1782. Their son Dea. Benjamin Edwards 5th (1788–1859) married Sally "Sukey" Roberts (ca.1791–1832) in 1812, and Abigail Roberts (1796–1885) in 1834. Essex County Probate 8592 (Benjamin Edwards [Jr.], 1774); and 8593 (Benjamin Edwards [3rd], 1795). Spalding (1872), 387. Mills (1902), 60-61. Essex Institute (1904), 8, 31, 88, 101, 114, 122, 162, 195, 196. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:89, 2:72, 103. Essex Institute (1908), 54, 71. Corcoran (2021–2025), 2:20, 21, 23, 243-245. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #60906179, 60906359, 60906462, 60906864, 60907042, 60908093, 63653644, and 63653755.

355 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Although the church record renders her enslaver's name as "Benjamin Edwards Jr." and not as "Benjamin Edwards 3rd," the use of the suffix "Jr." was meant to distinguish him from his father Benjamin Edwards (ca.1698?–1774) who was also alive at the time.

356 L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1973.52.080, detail. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts. "14A[cres]" appears twice on the lot; "280 [feet]" appears along the west boundary. "W.P.D" at the upper left identifies the farm owned by William P. Dodge (1844–1927), father of attributed map-maker Louis A. Dodge; see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52534476.

357 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66: "[#]137. May 24. Negro girl of Mr. Benjm. Edwards Jr. [*sic*]."

358 Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:70-71. Essex Institute (1904), 21, 105, 170, 193. Essex Institute (1910), 2:140, 424. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #41855033 and #244249793. Mary is mentioned in Lieut. Richard's will; see Essex County Probate 7956:4.

359 Essex County Deeds 72:142 (John and Hannah Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1736); 118:122 [Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), fifth parcel; and 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759). Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4-5 Will (1778), bequests of surveyor's tools and interest in the Dodge Mill Complex. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:70-71. See Appendix F.

The Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 recorded a "shop" on Dodge's property, when he was living in the Jonathan Hobbs House. The valuation doesn't tell us what the shop was used for. Was it a workshop for making things for his own use on his farm, or was it a workshop for making things for sale? Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), 162.

360 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 41:29 (Daniel and Sarah Claflin to Emerson Cogswell, 1722). Gap in title history. To Stephen Bennett (m. 1709 d. 1747) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 53:6 (Stephen and Susanna Bennett to John Dodge [3rd], 1728; and 72:142 (John [3rd] and Hannah Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1736), first parcel. (Although John Dodge referred to himself as "John Dodge Jr." in Essex County Deeds 72:142, he was the John Dodge 3rd born in 1703 who married Hannah Webster in 1735. J. T. Dodge (1892), 1:34. Essex Institute (1904), 108, 174. Essex Institute (1910), 2:137, 448.) Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :2 Inventory (1778), :5 Will (1778), bequest to Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835) of "the remaining part of the homestead on the southern side of the highway." Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778) includes three dwelling houses: the Amos Dodge House being one, Lieut. Richard's residence in the Jonathan Hobbs House being another, and this house the third. Essex County Probate 7939 (Nicholas Dodge, 1835), :8, 12 Will (1824), bequest to Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857); and 37665 (Nicholas Dodge [Jr.], 1857), :35, 39

Division (1861) to Jacob E. Dodge (1828–1905) and Francis M. Dodge (1826–1907), homestead abutting land belonging to the Baptist Parsonage. Essex County Deeds 1448:59 (Jacob E. Dodge to Francis M. Dodge, 1895). Inherited by Adeline (Dodge) Cole (1866–1959) from her father Francis M. Dodge. Essex County Deeds 4512:464 (Adeline P. Cole to Benjamin E. Cole, 1944); 4512:466 (Benjamin E. Cole to Sarah C. Tuckerman et al., 1958); 4550:145 (Sarah C. Tuckerman et al. to Robert N. Jr. and Nancy W. Spofford, 1959); and 6425:156 (Robert N. Jr. and Nancy W. Spofford to David E. and Ann H. Geikie, 1977). *Maps*: Samuel Brown (1806, undated copy). Walling (1856), "N. Dodge" House (site). Beers (1872), 95, "F. M. Dodge" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "F. M. Dodge" House (site). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "Mrs. E. B. Cole" House (site). Essex County Deeds Plan 78:19 ("Plan of a Portion of Larch Row," 1949), sheet 1; 1959:178 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Mass. to be retained by Sarah C. Tuckerman et. ali.," 1959); and 140:32 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Robert N. Jr. & Nancy W. Spofford, 1967). Lillie (1976), "Lt. Richard Dodge c.1674" House. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), (street widening, Dea. Nicholas Dodge). Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.I (2017). Corcoran (2024), 158-164, 229. Corcoran (2025), 24, 26, 85.

Essex County Deeds 41:29 (Daniel and Sarah Claflin to Emerson Cogswell, 1722) describes a three-acre homestead bounded by highways to the west, north and east. The deed also says the homestead was bounded by land of Phineas Dodge and Sarah Dodge to the south. That Phineas and Sarah owned abutting land (along Longham Brook upstream of the Dodge Mill Complex) is confirmed by Essex County Probate 7876 (John Dodge Jr., 1704), :8 Division (1712); Essex County Deeds 41:267 (Amos Dodge to Phineas Dodge, 1712) and 41: 268 (division of property between Phineas Dodge and Ruth Dodge, 1714). In addition, 72:142 states that the farm purchased by Lieut. Richard Dodge abutted Lieut. William Dodge's "Six-Acre Lot"—which appears to be the six-acre lot on the southwest side of Grapevine Road described in Essex County Deeds 27:2 (John and Hannah Bare to William Dodge, 1714), second parcel. For Daniel Claflin (1674–1775) see Wight (1903), 21.

361 Town of Wenham, MS (1695–1743), unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 72). Essex Institute (1904), 180.

362 It is an assumption that the Adam Black in the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in 1735 and the Adam Black in the Capt. Jacob Dodge household in 1738 were the same man. Rationale: We know that Adam Black was living in 1742 because it is clear that the baptismal records for Adam Jr. and Jenny are for the children of Adam Black, the man who married Jean/Jenny Black. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 119, 122. The two baptismal records provide no surname for either Adam or "Jenny"—which tells us that Adam Black's surname didn't always appear in records of events after 1735. Neither of the baptismal records provides the name of Adam or Jenny's enslaver(s).

363 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55, 118. Baptisms not also in Essex Institute (1904). "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.

364 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 180). Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181. A Dinah (John Gott Jr. household) was baptized in 1754 at the same time as her brothers Hampshire and Caesar. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44. Essex Institute (1904), 84. But the baptismal record identifies her as the daughter of enslaved people Hazard and Flora and not as the wife of Manning, indicating that there were two Dinahs.

Might Manning have been associated—either legally or biologically—with the family of Paul Dodge (ca.1709–1773) of Ipswich or the Manning family of Ipswich? Paul Dodge had a daughter-in-law Anna Manning and a great-grandson Manning Dodge (1795–1873). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:39, 66, 107. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #75907157.

365 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 55: "[#]22. Dec: 12 Manning [#]223. & Abijah Servants of Mr Richard Dodge."

366 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 180): "November. 16th 1744.—An Intente [*sic*] of Marriag [*sic*] Betwen [*sic*]: Maning [*sic*] a melatoo [*sic*] and Dinah a melatoo [*sic*]: Both of Wenham was published." Note that, although Manning had been baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church two years earlier, the church did not record their wedding.

367 Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov.

368 For identification see the discussion of the Daniel Claflin House.

369 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 12:104 (Jonathan and Rebeccah Hobbs to [Srgt.] Benjamin Edwards, 1694); 30:75 ([Srgt.] Benjamin and Mary Edwards to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1716); and 100:100 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1742[/3]), first parcel. Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :2 Inventory (1778), :5 Will (1778), bequest of "my dwelling house" to Simon Dodge (1750–1815) and Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835); 7978 (Simon Dodge, 1815), :8 Will (1812), bequests to Mary Edwards Dodge (1773–1842) and Obadiah Dodge (1781–1828); 7940 (Obadiah Dodge, 1828), :11 Inventory (1828), half a house; and 7939 (Nicholas Dodge, 1835), :7, 12 Will (1824), bequest to Polly Dodge (1778–1856) of "my half part of the old house standing by the northerly side of the highway where my son Nicholas Dodge [Jr.] now lives." To Nicholas Dodge Jr's daughter Lydia C. (Dodge) Curtis (1810–1894) per Essex County Probate 37670 (Perley Dodge, 1845), :8 Will (1845), :17 Inventory (1846) and likely an unrecorded conveyance from her siblings. Essex County Deeds 605:215 (John and Lydia C. Curtis to Abraham Edwards, 1860); 605:216 (Abraham and Nancy Edwards to John Curtis, 1860); 905:262 (John W. Curtis to Lydia C. Curtis, 1874); 987:159 (Lydia C. Curtis to Zachariah Cole, 1877), first parcel; 987:160 (Zachariah and Lucy B. Cole to Lydia C. Curtis, mortgage, 1877); 1620:169 (Zachariah Cole to Amos M. Kidder, 1900); 2410:163 (Lucy E. Kidder to Neil W. Rice, 1919); 3482:384 (Neil W. and Emma Mandell Rice to E. Mauran Beals, 1946); 14530:600 (M. Lynn Brennan et al., executors, to Thomas M. and Martha A. W. Ellis, 1997); 23635:112 (Thomas M. and Martha A. W. Ellis to Martha A. W. Ellis, 2004); and 30932:465 (Martha A. Wood to Larch Row LLC, 2011). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "J. Curtis" House (site). Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. L. C. Curtis" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "Mrs. L. C. Curtis" House (site). Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "A. M. Kidder" House (site). Lillie (1976), "Dwelling House of Lt. Richard Dodge." Essex County Deeds Plan 280:4 ("Definitive Plan, Residential Open Space Community, the Beals Estate in Wenham and Hamilton, Massachusetts," 1992). *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1959), (street widening, Simon Dodge). Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.I (2017); and WNH.227 (no date). Corcoran (2024), 126, 160, 162-169, 200. Corcoran (2025), 24, 26, 89. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:71, 116-117; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #55657976, 60914002, 60941724 and 75790523.

The Benjamin Edwards who owned the property is identified as Srgt. Benjamin (ca.1662–1723) because—although his marriage to Mary is unrecorded—Town of Wenham, MS (1695–1743), unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 44) recorded the death of Srgt. Benjamin on September 29, 1723 immediately followed by that of Mary Edwards on October 24, 1723. Mills (1902), 61.

370 Dodge bought yet another house in 1740, the John Edwards House discussed on pages 174-176, which he sold in 1751. Essex County Deeds 100:101 (Joseph and Hannah Edwards to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1740), first parcel; and 120:224 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to Benjamin Edwards Jr., 1750[/1]). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:70. It is possible that the Dodges used the John Edwards House as their residence during the 1740s—and not the Daniel Claflin House or the Jonathan Hobbs House—but no evidence has been found indicating that they did so.

371 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), first section, 8, 13, 17, 18, 28, 31, 35, 56, 60, 66. The beauty of colonial-period writing is that it often uses phonetic spelling of words. Dodge's use of the name "Byiah" tells us that "Abijah," when spoken, wasn't said with a hard "j" sound but rather was said with a soft "y" sound.

372 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), first section, 8.

373 Cole (attributed), MS transcription, Dodge to Dodge (1725). The former enslaver was apparently Lieut. Nehemiah Dodge (1720–1758) and not Nehemiah Dodge (1699–1783), as the former is known to have lived in Ipswich while the latter lived in Wenham before moving to Littleton. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:60-61, 78.

374 *The Boston Post-Boy*, June 3, 1751, 2:

> RAN-away from his Master *Richard*
> *Dodge of Wenham,* in the County of *Essex*, on Wednesday last,
> A likely Negro Man-Servant, named *Hazard*, of a yellowish Com-
> plection [*sic*], middling Stature, about 30 Years of Age, speaks pretty good
> English, well-set: Had on when he went away, a white cotton and
> linnen [*sic*] Shirt, a homespun Coat mix'd with a cast of Blue, tow Trow-
> sers, blue worsted Stockings, a dark Wig, a Beaver Hat, and a Pair
> of Pumps, with large silver Buckles mark'd D. H. He has a Scar a-
> cross the middle of each of his Legs of two Inches long, cut by an Ax.
> He carried off with him a fine large Bay Horse, Fourteen Hands high,
> Valued at 200 *l.* old Tenor, a natural Pacer, us'd to Drawing, and has
> a Sore in the middle of his Back; the said Horse being the Property
> of his Master. Whosoever shall take up the said Servant and Horse
> and return them to the said *Dodge* in *Wenham*, shall have *Five Pounds*
> old Tenor Reward for each, and all necessary Charges paid
> *Wenham, May* 30th 1751. per me, *Richard Dodge.*
> N.B. All Persons whatsoever are hereby caution'd against conceal-
> ing or carrying off said Negro and Horse, as they would avoid the
> Penalty of the Law.

"D. H.," whose initials were engraved on the silver shoe buckles worn by Hazard, has yet to be identified. A week later Dodge ran a similar ad in the same newspaper, but without the reference to the stolen horse. Had the horse perhaps wandered home? The new ad changed the amount and currency of the reward and provides a reminder that the word "dollar" applied to certain currencies that were in circulation well before the establishment of the United States. *The Boston Post-Boy*, June 10, 1751, 2:

> RAN-away from his Master *Richard*
> *Dodge of Wenham,* in the County of *Essex*, on Wednesday last,
> A likely Negro Man-Servant, named *Hazard*, of a yellowish Com-
> plection [*sic*], middling Stature, about 30 Years of Age, speaks pretty good
> English, well-set: Had on when he went away, a white cotton and
> linnen [*sic*] Shirt, a homespun Coat mix'd with a cast of Blue, tow Trow-

sers, blue worsted Stockings, a dark Wig, a Beaver Hat, and a Pair of Pumps, with large silver Buckles mark'd D. H. He has a Scar across the middle of each of his Legs of two Inches long, cut by an Ax. Whosoever shall take up the said Servant and will convey him to his Master in *Wenham*, or secure him in any of his Majesty's Goals [jails], so as he may have him again, shall have EIGHT DOLLARS Reward, and all necessary Charges paid by me, *Richard Dodge*. N.B. All Masters of Vessels and others are hereby caution'd against concealing or carrying off said Negro as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law. *Wenham, June* 5. 1751.

375 *The Boston Post-Boy*, June 3, 1751, 2. *The Boston Post-Boy*, June 10, 1751, 2. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44, 56, 60. Cole (attributed), MS transcription, Dodge to Dodge (1725). Bly (2012), 110.

376 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44, 56 (Hazard's owning the covenant), 60 (Hazard's church admission), 68. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 226.

377 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), first section, 7, 11, 28, 67; second section, 11, 12, 19, 20, 33, 34.

378 Tibbetts, ed. (1904–1907), 4:32. Smith (1975), 400. Knoblock (2003), 263. The list of the *Boston*'s sailors (see Tibbetts and Smith) does not include the sailors' race or the town of origin, and therefore it is a hypothesis that Hampshire Dodge the sailor and Hampshire Dodge the enslaved member of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household were the same man. It should be noted that Lieut. Richard himself—as well as Scipio Lee Dodge, an enslaved man in Dodge's household (page 206)—fought in the Continental Army. Corcoran (2025), 85-89. Knoblock, however, hypothesized that the sailor might have been of New Hampshire origin, by virtue of the sailor's first name. Of interest: other sailors aboard the *Boston* included Cato Austin, Scipio Brown, Nero Freeman, Cuff Freeman, Caesar Fairweather, Caesar Lee, Hazard Quashey, Cato Wood and Cuff Wood—apparently other enslaved men who were fighting the British?

379 Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778). Cole (1943), 91, incorrectly rendered as "Hempstead." Two anonymous enslaved people (genders and ages not recorded) were part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge household in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771, one of whom was apparently Hampshire. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45.

380 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44. Essex County Probate 15516 ([Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1766), :8 Inventory (1766). Essex Institute (1904), 84.

381 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44, 67. Essex Institute (1904), 84, 226.

382 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), first section, 7; second section, 20.

383 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68.

384 Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778). Cole (1943), 91. Two anonymous enslaved people (genders not recorded) were part of the household in 1771. It is possible that one of these people was Sylvie. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45.

385 Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778). Cole (1943), 91. Two candidates for the child's father are Hampshire and Jack. Hampshire—who is known to have been in the household until 1778—seems to be a stronger candidate than Jack.

386 Essex County Probate 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), :19, Inventory (1793); and 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778). Pompey himself does not appear in either inventory.

387 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

388 Kenney et al., MS (1839). Prudence Dodge (1789–1869), Mary Dodge (1790–1852), William Dodge (1797–1850), Richard Dodge (1803–1850), Augustus Dodge (1812–1858), Mary A. B. Dodge (1807–1890), Lydia C. Dodge (b. 1810), Prudence E. Dodge (1817–1892), and Eliza A. Dodge (1819–1899). See Appendix I.

389 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 68: "[#]57. June 14. Flora Negro Maid of Richard Dodge." 67: "[#] 108 Octr: 19. Caesar Negro Boy of Mr Richard Dodge."

390 *Ibid*., 68: "between these ~~two~~ died July two negro Children one of Richard Dodge & ye other of John Dodge."

391 Dodge's Island appears to have been the island that Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) bought of Robert Bradford (ca.1627–1707). The Bradford-to-Dodge deed was not recorded, and Bradford's deed of acquisition was not recorded. But Essex County Deeds 19:3 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to Daniel Dodge, 1703) describes it as "the Island which I Purchased of Mr. Robert Bradford of Beverly afores[ai]d Lying Northeasterly from Longham River & Bounded on its Northeastern Side on The Town Common Land of Wenham afores[aid]." J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:39.

392 L. G. Dodge (1976), x2014.277r, punctuation and capitalization edited. See Appendix H for an image of the letter. Dodge does not identify the "Pomp" of Pompey's Island as Pompey Black. Lawrence G. Dodge (1882–1978) was born in Wenham, the son of Robert Francis "Frank" Dodge (1829–1901), who lived in the John Thorne Dodge House (on the former site of the Lieut. William Dodge House) as early as 1856 (Walling) and as late as 1884 (Walker). Lawrence appears in an 1895 photograph of the John Thorne Dodge house (B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #01032), shown on page 207. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1910:468:7. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60392367. For recipient of the letter Susanne "Snooky" (LaCroix) Phippen (1927–2015) and the Phippens' residence at Hurdle Hill Farm, 253 Larch Row see "Susanne Phippen" (2015), Castelluccio (2019), and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #169458479. Essex County Deeds 13634:186 (Henry P. Phippen and Nicholas A. Grace, trustees, to Anne Ward Phippen, 1996). Essex County Deeds Plan 280:60 ("Compiled Plan of Land in Wenham, MA," 1992); and 308:86 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, MA," 1996).

Most of the Iron Rail Property was formerly part of the Helen C. Frick Estate. Although the town of Wenham bought much of the estate, it did not buy all of it. Essex County Deeds 6110:304 (Girls Clubs of America, Inc. to Town of Wenham, 1974) and Plan 6110:304 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc.," 1974). Dodge's reference to the Iron Rail *original* land is an indirect reference to this fact and an indication that Pompey's Island was on that portion of the estate that was purchased by the town. The proposed site of Pompey's Island is surrounded on three sides by swamp, and not by meadow as described by Dodge. But it is important to note that various parts of town that are swampy today used to be meadow. For example, in 1968 Louis A. Dodge spoke of meadow along the Miles River just south of Walnut road—but that area is now flooded. L. A. Dodge (1968), I-8.

393 The only other reference found for Pompey's Island is this: "Pomp's Island. On land owned by Robert Frank Dodge, in square between Grapevine Road, Larch Row and Rubbly Road." Phillips (1938), 107. (See the map references in the title history for the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House at endnote 436). The site near the town's water tower is assigned a medium level of conviction as being Pompey's Island because (1) no other site fits the 1976 description but (2) no map has been found that shows Pompey's Island. If hypothetically there were a competing site, the near-water-tower site would be assigned a low level of conviction. If hypothetically there were a map that shows Pompey Island, the site on such a map would be assigned a high level of conviction. See also Massachusetts Historical Commission, Inventory of Historic and Archaeological Assets, Pompey's Island Grave, WNH-HA-5 2025), which leverages information in Corcoran (2024) of this work.

394 See also the discussion of Amos and Jimmy at page 253.

395 Wenham property map by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov.

396 Essex County Deeds 19:3 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to Daniel Dodge, 1703); 19:120 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to Richard Dodge [3rd], 1703); 22:189 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1703); and 27:103 (settlement of bounds between Daniel Dodge and [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1712). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:39-41.

397 For identification see the discussion of the Daniel Claflin House.

398 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 19:3 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to Daniel Dodge, 1703), first parcel. Essex County Probate 7810 (Daniel Dodge, 1740), :5 Will (1740), bequest to son David Dodge (b. 1723). Essex County Deeds 96:90 (David and Anna Dodge to John Low, 1750); 101:21 (John and Elizabeth Low to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1750[/1]); and 125:256 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to [Capt.] John Dodge Jr. [*sic*], 1768). Essex County Probate 7882 (Capt. John Dodge, 1811), :8 Inventory (1811), :12-13 Will (1810), bequests to widow and sons John Jr. (1761–1834) and Isaac (1766–1826). Gap in title history. To Maj. Richard Dodge (1803–1850) but deed not recorded. Essex County Deeds 338:59 ([Maj.] Richard and Mary A. B. Dodge to Levi Dodge, 1843); and 347:281 (Levi and Matilda Dodge to [Maj.] Richard Dodge, 1844). Essex County Probate 37680 ([Maj.] Richard Dodge, 1850), :5 Inventory (1850), :25 Administrator's Account (1853). Essex County Deeds 447:37 (Richard Dodge [Jr.], administrator, to Henry Dodge and Benjamin Hawkins, 1851); 538:171 (Henry Dodge et al. to Knott Martin, 1856); 922:273 (Martha Martin et al. to William J. Goldthwait, 1875); 950:153 (William J. and Mary L. Goldthwait to Thomas Thompson, 1876), first parcel; 1592:507 (Orin P. Thompson et al. to Oscar A. Willard, 1899); 1658:202 (Oscar A. and Abba D. Willard to Henry H. Melville, 1901); 1674:391 (Henry H. Melville to George L. Allen, 1902); 1674:392 (George L. Allen to Marchia [*sic*] Lord Melville, 1902); 1992:547 (Henry H. and Marcia Lord Melville to George Lockhart Allen, 1909); 1996:259 (George Lockhart and Florence L. Allen to Henry Clay Frick, 1909); 2944:526 (Helen C. Frick to Iron Rail Vacation Home, 1933); 3277:245 (Helen C. Frick to Iron Rail Vacation Home, 1941); 4079:280 (Iron Rail Vacation Home to Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc., 1954); and 6110:304 (Girls Clubs of America, Inc. to Town of Wenham, 1974). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "H. Dodge" House. Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. M. Martin" House. Walker (1884), 87, "Mrs. M. Martin" House. Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #26½. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "H. C. Frick" House. Essex County Deeds Plan 62:31 ("Portion of Helen C. Frick Estate, Wenham, Mass.," 1930); and 6110:304 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc.," 1974). Lillie (1976), "Capt. John Dodge c. 1700" House. *Other References*: J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:39-40, 69-70. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 69, 117, 132, references to the David Dodge property near the Grapevine Road bridge over Longham Brook (also called the Mill River). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 197, 200-201, which

describe a boundary along the Hamilton-Wenham town line for a property that might have been Capt. John Dodge's homestead (further research needed). L. Brown (1976). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 101-103. Janes (2011), 67. Corcoran (2024), 125, 127, 162, 170-175. Corcoran (2025), 24, 26. 65, 71-73, 78.

When the Iron Rail House was sold in 1750, the abutting farm to the east was already "in possession of" Lieut. Richard. Essex County Deeds 96:90 (David and Anna Dodge to John Low, 1750). This suggests that Lieut. Richard did not actually occupy the Iron Rail House as his own residence.

399 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 6271:39 (Pond View Corporation to Lynne F. Warren, 1976); 6554:24 (Lynne F. Warren to Arthur D. Weeks 3rd, 1978); 7068:101 (Arthur D. Weeks 3rd to Patricia D. Halleran, 1983). Essex County Deeds Plan 139:52 ("Subdivision Plan of Land in Hamilton, Mass.," 1976), Lot D. *Other References*: "Iron Rail is Wenham purchase choice" (1974). L. Brown (1976). Shore (1976). "House move gets ok" (1976). "Iron Rail house travels trouble-free" (1976).

400 J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:25-26. Essex Institute (1904), 111, 114, 192, 193. Essex Institute (1916–1925), 1:255. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #41656671 and 47853484.

401 Essex County Deeds 19:3 (1703) and 19:120 (1703). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:38-39. Cole (1943), 90-91.

402 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2023.166. The people in the image are unidentified. This image was also published in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 103.

403 H. W. Boothroyd (1971). Photographed in December 1971. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2010.094.

404 Essex County Probate 7882 (Capt. John Dodge, 1811). Porter (1878), 257. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:116. Essex Institute (1904), 25, 70, 108, 157, 191. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #41854868. Corcoran (2025), 5, 56, 71-74.

405 Pension Application of Frances Dodge, MS (1851), Massachusetts W14639, "U.S., Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900," (2010), Dodge, Abner–Dodge, John, Ancestry.com database, frame 162.

406 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1790:690.

407 Although Hardesty's focus is on pre-Revolution Boston, his model replaces the traditional dichotomous conception of enslavement and freedom with a continuum of unfreedom. Hardesty (2016), 2.

408 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 16.

409 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 33. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

410 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1800:562, "John Dodge Jr." [*sic*] household. The census-taker's inclusion of "Jr." seems to indicate that by 1800 Capt. John's son John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834) was considered the head of the household. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174-175.

411 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 33: "Oct^{r}. 16 Was buried Sal, a black girl of Cap^{t}. J. Dodges, aged 16. Consum[ptio]^{n}." Notice the use of the word "black" instead of "negro."

412 "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1859:frame 194.

Pinning down the year of her birth is a bit of a challenge, with different sources indicating 1760, 1762 and 1770.

- In her 1851 deposition Phyllis gave her age as 81 (i.e., birth about the year 1770). Pension Application of Frances Dodge, MS (1851), Massachusetts W14639, frame 162.
- "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1859:frame 194, records her death and gives her age as 99 in 1859 (i.e., birth about the year 1760).
- The 1860 Federal Census Mortality Schedule, which recorded deaths that occurred during the preceding year, gives her age as 97 (indicating birth about the year 1762). The mortality schedule also says that the state where she was born was unknown and points out that she was "formerly a slave." United States Census Bureau, 1860 Federal Census Mortality Schedule, Wenham, Essex County, Massachusetts, 2. The Massachusetts state census of 1855 corroborates her birth about the year 1762, giving her age as 83. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1865 State Census, Essex County, Wenham, 14.

As for the "form[er]ly a slave" notation in the town clerk's record of Phyllis' death and the census mortality schedule, a similar, contemporary example is found in Andover. Rosanna Coburn (b. 1762–1767 d. 1859), a formerly enslaved woman, died in Andover in 1859. In the record of her death the town clerk reported her place of birth as "Andover: a slave." In the version of the document that was sent to the state the words "a slave" were underlined. Coburn was the last survivor of enslavement born in her respective town. Scholar Edward L. Bell points out that Coburn's death occurred

> at the zenith of local attention to national issues of slavery and its abolition. … Coburn's death was a moment to reflect that the last living reminder of the town's past practice of slavery had truly passed into history, while looking forward to when the nation too might achieve what Andover had accomplished by ending the practice of slavery in their town.

Bell (2021), 4.

In addition, Bell documents the practice whereby Massachusetts towns sought state funding to provide financial support to paupers and demonstrates that the designation of a given pauper as a formerly enslaved person tipped the scales away from town-level funding toward state-level reimbursement. *Ibid.*, chapter 3. Thanks go to Edward L. Bell for sharing his research on state-funded town support of paupers.

413 Pension Application of Frances Dodge, MS (1851), Massachusetts W14639, frame 162.

414 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 152. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), 12, 22 (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frames 294, 295). Essex Institute (1904), 180.

415 The census-taker's inclusion of "Jr." is curious. It would seem that Capt. John Dodge's (1740–1811) son John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834) was considered the head of the Capt. John Dodge household. John Jr. inherited the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House from his father in 1811. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174-175.

416 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1810:50. Abraham Dodge (1764–1841) would later sign a petition advocating abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people; see Appendix I.

The 1810 census includes five people of color, one of whom was Pompey Porter (1752–1833, pages 77-78) in the Dr. Tyler Porter household.

417 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1830:513.

418 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:297. Per Walling (1856) and Beers (1872), the Abraham Dodge 2nd family lived on the west side of Dodges Row to the north of Longham Brook, and the Benjamin F. Spiller family lived on the east side of Dodges Row to

the south of Longham Brook. For identification of Abraham Dodge 2nd see L. A. Dodge (1968), III-8.

419 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1865 State Census, Essex County, Wenham, 14.

420 Curtis (1889), 1; and Curtis (1889, later transcription). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 99-100. See Appendix G.

421 Wenham, like other towns in Massachusetts, was reimbursed by the state for the financial support of paupers. "During their lives, when formerly enslaved people … required economic assistance from the town, their former status figured in determining whether the town or the state was responsible for the cost." Bell (2021), 3. Thanks go to Edward L. Bell for sharing his research on state-funded town support of paupers. For more on the topic see Bell (2021), chapter 3.

Records of the town's financial support are captured in Town of Wenham, MS (1841–1875). However—unlike fellow Wenham resident Pompey Porter (1752–1833)—no record has been found that shows that Phyllis's financial support was funded by the state. Documents reviewed: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Acts & Resolves* for 1780–1860; Town of Wenham, MS (1796–1856); and Town of Wenham, MS (1846–1873).

422 Either Benjamin Cleaves (1778–1851), John Cleaves (ca.1779–1849) or William Cleaves (ca.1778–1847).

423 Town of Wenham, MS (1841–1875), [1], [3], [4], [5], [10], [12], [13], [14], [28], [29], [30].

At [30]: "Cash paid Joseph Beckford for Attending funeral of Mrs Freeman [$]3.00." The 1860 Federal census identifies Beckford as a shoemaker. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1860:33. Does "attending [her] funeral" mean that Beckford made shoes for the deceased, or does it mean something else?

Benjamin C. Putnam (1820–1888) owned a store that was on or near the site of the Wenham Tea House. Cole (1943), 120-121, 139.

424 Kenney et al., MS (1839).

425 See Appendix I.

426 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 72, 173. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904).

Why was Phyllis allowed to marry in the Wenham Congregational Church in 1813 if she hadn't already been baptized?

427 Curtis (1889), 1; and Curtis (1889, later transcription). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 99-100. See Appendix G.

428 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), 22 (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frames 295): "Mr Fortune Freeman & Mrs Phillis [*sic*] Bryant both of Wenham, Entered their Names & intention of Marriage with me Sept. 4th 1813. & where [*sic*] posted as the law directs the 5th day of the same Month. Gave certificate Sept. 20th 1813. P. Paul T[own] Clerk." The unusual signature "P. Paul" was made by town clerk Paul Porter.

429 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 152: "Oct. 10 Mr Fortune Freeman to Mrs Phillis [*sic*] Bryant (Blacks) both of Wenham."

430 Kenney et al., MS (1839).

431 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 72: "Nov. 15. Phillis [*sic*] Freeman—on her own acct." The expression "on her own account" is a reference to the fact that she was baptized as an adult.

432 Pension Application of Frances Dodge, MS (1851), Massachusetts W14639, frames 162-163. For genealogy see Corcoran (2025), 64-65.

433 Billy Dodge was ten years old when he enlisted. Corcoran (2025), 64-65.

434 Billy Dodge and Frances Costigan were married in 1792 or 1794. While Frances (Costigan) Dodge quoted 1792 multiple times in her pension application, a newspaper announcement of the marriage supports 1794. Corcoran (2025), 64.

435 Pension Application of Frances Dodge, MS (1851), Massachusetts W14639, frame 162.

436 *Title History*: Essex County Deeds 22:189 (Richard Dodge [Jr.] to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1703), first parcel; and J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:39-41. (Although the deed doesn't quantify the acreage, Lieut. William probably received a 50-acre parcel, since brother Daniel's abutting portion of the farm was 50 acres large.) Essex County Deeds 118:122 [Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), first parcel. Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :2 Inventory (1778), :4-5 Will (1778) bequest to sons Simon (1750–1815) and Nicholas (1754–1835). Acquisition by Lieut. Richard's son [Maj.] Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) not recorded, but by 1768 per 125:256 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to [Capt.] John Dodge Jr. [*sic*], 1768). Essex County Deeds 166:70 ([Maj.] Richard [Jr.] and Lydia Dodge to John Thorn[e] Dodge, 1798). Essex County Probate 37613 (John T[horne] Dodge, 1851), :10 Will (1844) bequest to son Richard, :6 Codicil (1850) bequest to heirs of son Richard, :17 Inventory (1851). Essex County Deeds 876:236 (Mary A. B. Dodge et al. to George Wheatland, 1873), first parcel; 876:237 (George Wheatland to John T. Dodge et al., 1873), first parcel; 911:264 (John T. and Hettie P. Dodge to Thomas P. Pingree, 1874) first parcel; 972:197 (Mary A. B. Dodge and Mary Ann Pingree to Harriet E. Pingree, 1877); 1794:303 (Lester E. and Georgia E. Libby to Harriet E. Pingree, 1905); 2121:305 (Harriet E. Pingree to Henry C. Frick, 1911), first parcel; 2944:526 (Helen C. Frick to Iron Rail Vacation Home, 1933); 3277:245 (Helen C. Frick to Iron Rail Vacation Home, 1941); 4079:280 (Iron Rail Vacation Home to Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc., 1954), first parcel; 6110:304 (Girls Clubs of America, Inc. to Town of Wenham, 1974); 6117:780 (Girls Clubs of America, Inc., to Bryant and Doris K. Barnard, 1974); 10576:283 (Bryant and Doris K. Barnard to Bryant and Doris K. Barnard, 1990); and 28844:185 (Bryant and Doris K. Barnard to Doris K. Barnard 1990 Trust, 2009). *Maps*: Walling (1856), "R. F. Dodge" House (site). Beers (1872), 95, "R. Frank Dodge" House (site). Walker (1884), 87, "R. Frank Dodge" House (site). Conant (attributed), MS (ca.1892–1920), 1987.38, house site #27. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 35, "Mrs. H. G. Pingree" House (site). Essex County Deeds Plan 2121:1 ("Plan of Land in Hamilton & Wenham Belonging to Harriet E. Pingree," 1911), showing Rubbly Road prior to the straightening of its curve; 62:31 ("Portion of Helen C. Frick Estate, Wenham, Mass.," 1930); 6110:304 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc.," 1974); 6126:85 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Prepared for Bryant Barnard," 1974); and 6152:406 ("Plan of Land in Wenham Prepared for Bryant Barnard," 1975). Lillie (1976), "Lt. Richard Dodge, Originally the farmhouse of the first Richard Dodge." *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1938), 175, 209-210 (1721 and 1725 perambulations of the Hamilton-Wenham town line referring to Lieut. William Dodge's property). Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 46 (1739 perambulation). L. G. Dodge (1976), x2014.277r; see Appendix H. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 101-103, Robert Dodge House. Janes (2011), 92, Robert F. Dodge's barn. Corcoran (2024), 127, 160, 162, 170-171, 176-184, 269. Corcoran (2025), 24, 26, 82, 84, 87. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41, 70-71, 115-117, 174; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #54059417 and 60392114.

437 In 1752 Lieut. William Dodge gave farms in Ipswich and Wenham to his adult sons Lieut. Richard (1703–1778), William Jr. (1705–1777), Capt. Jacob (1716–1792) and Skipper (1721–

1785)—his other adult son Isaac (1708–1791) having moved to Boxford. Essex County Deeds 118:122 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), first parcel; 119:154 ([Lieut. William Dodge to William Dodge [Jr], 1752); 124:64, first parcel; and 117:90 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), first parcel, with life estate for Skipper Dodge. See J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41, 72-73 for Isaac Dodge's move to Boxford.

When the Iron Rail House was sold in 1750, the abutting farm to the east (i.e., the Lieut. William Dodge Farm) was already "in possession of" Lieut. Richard. Essex County Deeds 96:90 (David and Anna Dodge to John Low, 1750). This tells us that Lieut. Richard was already farming the land that his father would give him two years later.

438 The transfer of ownership occurred by 1768, but it was not recorded. Essex County Deeds 125:256 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to [Capt.] John Dodge ["Jr."], 1768) identifies Maj. Richard as an abutter who owned property corresponding to the Lieut. William Dodge Farm.

Lieut. Richard Dodge gave houses to his other adult children who lived in Wenham. Son Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) received the Iron Rail House, daughter Mary (b. 1742) received the Amos Dodge House, son Simon (1750–1815) received half of the Jonathan Hobbs House, and son Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835) received half of the Jonathan Hobbs House and all of the Daniel Claflin House. (Was the Daniel Claflin House on the small side, warranting a two-part bequest to Nicholas?) Daughter Sarah (b. 1746) does not appear to have received a house, but that might be because she and her husband had moved to New Hampshire about the year 1765. Essex County Deeds 125:256 (1768); 118:120 (Amos Dodge et al. to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1760); and Essex County Probate 7956:5 Will (1778). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:71, 120.

439 Giddings (1882), 24-25. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:41. Stocking (1897), 1:28, 36. Knowlton (1903), 7-8, 20-21, 164-169. Essex Institute (1904), 34, 112, 113, 118, 123, 139, 193, 194. Essex Institute (1910), 2:141, 142, 183, 263. Ganz (2013), 125-126. Corcoran (2021–2025), 1:129-135. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #41855044.

440 Essex County Deeds 28:228 (Josiah and Sarah Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1713); and 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), third parcel. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:70-71.

441 Cole, MS (no date) transcription, Hilton to Dodge (1723). Cole (1943), 90, which has a typographical error of "1722."

442 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96, death on May 8. *New-England Weekly Journal*, Boston, May 17, 1731, 2. Essex Institute (1904), 226, which has a typographical error saying that he died on May 18.

443 Essex County Probate 7956:2 Inventory (1778), :4 Will (1778); and 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), :19, Inventory (1793). For William Hilton 3rd see Hassam (1877), 9-10; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #50398655.

444 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 93. Essex Institute (1904), 226. The record of Peter's death identified his enslaver as "William Dodge." Although the record didn't specify William as *Lieut.* William Dodge, it seems unlikely that Peter's enslaver was William Dodge Jr. (1705–1777), because the record would have included the suffix "Jr." to distinguish him from his father. Furthermore, William Jr. was only eighteen years old at the time of Peter's death. The earliest use by William (1678–1765) of the Lieutenant title that has been found is the 1731 record of the death of enslaved household member Pompey. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96. For William Dodge Jr. see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:71-72.

445 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 95. Essex Institute (1904), 226. The record of Jenny's death identified her enslaver as "William Dodge." Although the record didn't specify William as *Lieut.* William Dodge, it seems unlikely that Jenny's enslaver was William Dodge Jr. (1705–1777), because the record would have included the suffix "Jr." to distinguish him from his father. The earliest use by William (1678–1765) of the Lieutenant title that has been found is the 1731 record of the death of enslaved household member Pompey. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 96. For William Dodge Jr. see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:71-72.

446 *Ibid.*, 55, 118. Essex Institute (1904), 180. Essex Institute (1910), 2:471, 474. Although Essex Institute (1904) renders her name as "Vetu," Essex Institute (1910) renders her name as "Violet." Jack's baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904). Violet might have been baptized in Ipswich in 1742; see Essex Institute (1910), 1:404. For Choate see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #64288063.

447 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66. Essex Institute (1904), 227. The record of Susanna's death identified her enslaver as "William Dodge." Although the record didn't specify William as *Lieut.* William Dodge, it seems unlikely that Susanna's enslaver was William Dodge Jr. (1705–1777), because the record would have included the suffix "Jr." to distinguish him from his father. Furthermore, William Jr. was living in Ipswich by 1752, per Essex County Deeds 119:154 ([Lieut. William Dodge to William Dodge [Jr], 1752).

448 Acquisition not recorded but see Essex County Deeds 125:256 ([Lieut.] Richard and Mary Dodge to [Capt.] John Dodge ["Jr."], 1768) for a reference to Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) owning property in this location.

449 Essex County Probate 7957 (Maj. Richard Dodge, 1802), :4 Will (1801), bequest to wife Lydia. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:57, 71, 115-116. Essex Institute (1904), 28, 109, 111.

450 Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 4:834. Corcoran (2025), 5, 8, 85-88, 539-554. Dodge is referred to as "Capt. Richard Dodge Jr." in Corcoran (2025).

451 Essex County Deeds 166:70 ([Maj.] Richard [Jr.] and Lydia Dodge to John Thorn[e] Dodge, 1798) recorded the sale of Maj. Richard's 60-acre farm with house and other buildings to son John Thorne Dodge. The deed recorded the consent of wife Lydia Dodge—something that was required at the time if she were living in the house but was optional if she weren't living there. Thus, it is likely that the former Lieut. William Dodge House was Lydia's residence (and therefore Maj. Richard's residence) prior to 1798. For John Thorne Dodge see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174 and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947924. Per Essex County Deeds 166:70, Maj. Richard sold his farm to his son in July 1798. In October 1798, a statewide property assessment recorded Maj. Richard living on a 39½-acre farm and John Thorne Dodge living on a 100-acre farm. The assessment's entry for Maj. Richard is immediately following the entry for John Thorne Dodge, which suggests (but does not prove) that their properties abutted each other. "Massachusetts and Maine Direct Tax," MS (1798), 394.

Two years later when Maj. Richard wrote his will, he bequeathed part of "the dwelling house I now live in" to his wife and "the homestead farm I now live on and occupy" (acreage not identified) to his daughters. Essex County Probate 7957:4-5 Will (1801). Spelling edited. Unfortunately, subsequent deeds are vague as to the location of the homestead that the Dodge daughters inherited, and the title history hasn't been determined after 1805. Essex County Deeds 185:295 (Amos and Marcia T. Lee to Nehemiah Standley, 1802); 185:295 (Amos and Marcia T. Lee to Nehemiah Standley, 1802), second deed, first parcel; 185:295 (John T. and Elizabeth Dodge to Nehemiah Standley, 1802); 185:296 (John T. and Elizabeth Dodge to Nehemiah Standley, 1802), second deed, first parcel; 185:296 (Joseph Patch to Nehemiah

Standley, 1805); and 185:296 (Joseph Patch to Nehemiah Standley, 1805), second deed, first parcel. Town of Wenham (1959), 140.

452 Town of Wenham (1959), 113, 130 (references from 1796 and 1799 respectively).

453 Cole, MS (no date) transcription, Hilton to Dodge (1723).

454 *New-England Weekly Journal*, Boston, May 17, 1731, 2: "On Saturday, the 8th instant, a *Negro Boy* about 15 [*sic*] years old, belonging to *Wenham*, driving a Team down the hill that leads to *Topsfield-Bridge*, was crush'd to Death, by the overturning of the Cart."

455 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 93: "[#]30. Decr. 17. 1723. Peter, Wm Dodge's Negro." 95: "[#]77. Octob. 20. 1728. Mr. Wm. Dodge Negro Girl Jenny." 96: "[#]112. May 8. 1731. Pompey, a negro-boy of Lieut. Wm. Dodge's kill'd by a cart Æt. 14."

456 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 118: "[#]221] Feb: 13 Jack, negro Servant of Mr. W. Dodge."

457 *Ibid.*, 66: "[#]121. May 16. Susanna Negro Woman of Wm Dodge."

458 The Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 tallied just one enslaved member of the Dodge household, his or her name, gender and age not recorded. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45. We know that at least two enslaved men, Scipio Lee Dodge and Abner, were part of the household in 1771. The unanswered question is whether one of these men was older than 45 (i.e., born in 1726 or earlier), or did the appraiser who made the valuation look the other way and undercounted Dodge's enslaved workers?

459 [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 26, 27, 31.

460 [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.], MS (1775), 14:77 (frames 332, 333), (Sipps Lee Dodge). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.], MS (1775), 56:263 (Sippo Dodge). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.], MS (1775), 59:555, (Sipo Dodge). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.] (attributed), MS (1775), 58:5:2, (Sippo Dodge). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.] (attributed), MS (1775), 58:8:2a (Sipeo Dodge). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.] (attributed), MS (1775), 59:556, (Sipeo Dodge). C. Jones et al., MS (1775), 57:27:4, (Scipio a Negrow [*sic*]). [Maj.] R. Dodge [Jr.], MS (1776), 58:19:3 (Sipeo). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174. Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 4:837. Corcoran (2025), 4, 9, 88-89.

Aaron Lee Jr. (1752–1823) was a son-in-law of Wenham enslaver Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811). He was born in Manchester and was probably living in his father-in-law's house at the time of the Revolution. Corcoran (2025), 161-162. Might Scipio have been enslaved by the Lee family of Manchester?

461 [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 6, 7, 8.

462 *Ibid.*, 7.

463 *Ibid.*, 9, 31.

464 There were two enslaved men named Abner living in Wenham in the 1770s, the man discussed here and the Abner who was in the Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) household by 1774 if not by 1771, discussed on pages 85—either of whom could have been the Abner baptized in 1752 and was in the White household. The Abner in the Brown household was identified by name in Brown's will of 1774 and is probably one of the three anonymous enslaved people tallied in the Brown household in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771. Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778). Pruitt (1998), 160. If the Abner in the Brown household was indeed one of the three people tallied in 1771, then he and the Abner in the Dodge household were two different men—since the Abner in the Dodge household was recorded as being in the Dodge household in 1771

and 1773. [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 9, 31. But if the Abner in the Brown household was *not* one of the three people tallied in the Brown household in 1771, then it's possible that the two Abners from the 1770s were the same man: part of the White household in 1762, part of the Dodge household during 1771–1773, and part of the Brown household by 1774.

465 [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 31.

466 Photographed May 28, 1895 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #01032. The boy in the image is Lawrence G. Dodge (1882–1978). This image previously appeared in Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 101.

Essex County Deeds 166:70 ([Maj.] Richard [Jr.] and Lydia Dodge to John Thorn[e] Dodge, 1798), referring to "a dwelling house and other buildings lately erected on the premises by John Thorne Dodge." Lawrence G. Dodge, a great-grandson of John Thorne Dodge, reiterated family tradition that John Thorne Dodge built the house about 1798; see L. G. Dodge (1976), x2014.277o.

467 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 99. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 5. For John Coy see Essex Institute (1904), 189; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #11377-7819.

468 *Title History*: 600-acre cession of common land from the town of Beverly to the town of Wenham, 1680. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 14-15. 25-acre lot from the town of Wenham to John Coy, 1692. Wenham Historical Society (1930), 99-100. Essex County Probate 6463 (John Coye [*sic*], 1738), :12 Will (1734[/5?]), bequest to son Caleb Coy; 6457 (Caleb Coye [*sic*], 1754), :5 Inventory (1754), :9-10 Settlement of Real Estate (1756), :12-14 Settlement of Real Estate (1757), :23-24 Widow's Dower (1755); 5571 (William Cleaves, 1782), :14 Widow's Dower (1784), :25 Inventory (1783); and 5555 (Joanna Cleaves, 1790), :15 Will (1789), bequest to children William Cleaves Jr. (bp. 1757), Joanna Parsons (bp. 1753), Mary Cleaves (bp. 1759) and Polly Cleaves (bp. 1761). Gap in title history. To Edwin Stillman (1814–1884) but deed not recorded. (Might Stillman have acquired the property from his father-in-law William Dodge (1787–1850), whose father John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851) lived on Rubbly Road?) Essex County Deeds 1190:287 (Asenith D. Stillman, guardian, to John K. Dodge, 1887); 1190: 287 (Sarah E. Woodman et al. to John K. Dodge, 1887); 1190:288 (John K. Dodge to Asenith D. Stillman, 1887); 1321:492 (Asenith D. Stillman to Frederick H. Prince, 1891); 1400:87 (Frederick H. and Abbie Norman Prince to William H. Fleming, 1894), first parcel; 1400:90 (William H. Fleming to Abbie Norman Prince, 1894), first parcel; and 3581:497 (Abbie Norman and Frederick H. Prince to Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1947), fifth parcel. *Maps*: Walling (1856), house opposite "G[eorge] Wyatt" House. Beers (1872), 95, "E[dwin] Stillman" House. Walker (1884), 87, "E[dwin] Stillman" House. Walker Lithograph & Publishing Co. (1910), 6, 35, "Abby N. Prince et als." House. R. C. Allen (1937). Essex County Deeds Plan 76:55 ("Preliminary Plan of Princemere, Property of Mrs. Abby Norman Prince," 1948), unnumbered lot between lots 101 and 106. Lillie (1976), "William Cleaves" House. *Other References*: Wenham Historical Society (1930), 91 ("Pleasant Pond" being the earlier name for Coys Pond), 99-100, 130, 133, 164-165. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 21-22, 175. Wenham Historical Society, *Supplement* (1940), 5-6, 10 (Pleasant Pond), 37-38, 81-82, 104-105. Corcoran (2024), 127, 185-187. Corcoran (2025), 24, 26, 53-54. For George Wyatt (b. ca.1808) see United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1860:25, household adjacent to the Stillman household. For Edwin Stillman (1814–1884) and Asenith D. Stillman (1852–1900) see Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #60947609 and 60947613. See also Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 104-105 and Janes (2011), 69 for content on "Princemere," the Prince estate that included the site of the Caleb Coy House.

469 Essex Institute (1904), 101, 144, 175, 189. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:209, 2:74, 200, 301, 330, 409. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #30395452. For occupation see Essex County Deeds 101:23 (Caleb Coye [*sic*] to John More, 1753).

470 Essex County Probate 6457:3 Inventory (1754), :18 Additional Account of Administrator (1755).

471 [Maj.] R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766–1807), 7, 31. Scipio was also known as Scipio Lee Dodge. In Maj. Dodge's account book, he recorded work done for Coy by "Nicholas" during 1768 without providing any clues as to Nicholas's identity. If, for the sake of discussion, Nicholas was an enslaved man, it is noteworthy that Dodge doesn't record the hiring-out of Nicholas on other occasions—since Dodge repeatedly hired out enslaved men Scipio (Scipio Lee Dodge) and Brookes that year. Consequently, we have to consider the likelihood that Nicholas was a member of Maj. Richard's family. While Maj. Richard Dodge did not have a son named Nicholas, he did have a younger brother by that name. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:71, 115-116. As for the other men hired out by Dodge, he did not have a son, brother or nephew named Brookes, Arnold, Abner, or Frank (or Francis).

472 Essex Institute (1904), 19, 99, 101, 188, 189. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:78, 91, 2:63, 74. For occupation see Essex County Probate 5571 (William Cleaves, 1782), multiple references to "yeoman."

473 Essex County Probate 5571 (William Cleaves, 1782), :25 Inventory (1783): 36 acres of land in eight parcels, total estate valued at £230 13*s* 6*d*.

474 Caesar was tallied in the 1771 Massachusetts Tax Valuation; see Town of Wenham, MS (1771), 318. Pruitt (1998), xvii, 162. The valuation tallied enslaved people who were between the ages of fourteen and 45. It is an assumption that the anonymous enslaved boy in Caleb Coy's 1754 probate inventory was Caesar. But given Cleaves' moderate financial means, it is difficult to imagine him investing in the purchase of a *second* enslaved person (in addition to the person Cleaves inherited) instead of investing in more land. Similarly, if hypothetically Caesar died soon after being transferred to Cleaves, it is difficult to image Cleaves replacing him with a different enslaved person.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, is should be noted that *two* skeletons (believed at the time to have belonged to formerly enslaved people) were found at Princemere; see Appendix M. Just the same, we don't know as a fact that the skeletons belonged to people of African descent and therefore can't rule out that they were of Indigenous or European descent.

475 [Lieut.] R. Dodge, MS (1766 [*sic*]), second section, 3.

476 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 202. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

477 See Appendix M. Further research of Prince's personal papers is warranted to see whether Prince recorded the site of the discovery and/or the site of the reinterment.

478 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 202: "[#]309. Decem^{br} 6. ___ Negro Servant of M^{r} W^{m} Cleves." A portion of the word "Deaths" can be seen, oriented vertically.

479 Essex County Deeds Plan 76:55 ("Preliminary Plan of Princemere, Property of Mrs. Abby Norman Prince," 1948).

UNIDENTIFIED HOUSE SITES & UNIDENTIFIED ENSLAVERS

PAPER TRAILS are fragile things. Sometimes all it takes is for one document to go missing or unfiled and we lose the ability to put a person in historical context. As pointed out earlier in this text, there are five cases of Wenham enslavers whose house sites later in life have been identified, but whose house sites *when they were known to have had an enslaved person in their household* earlier in life have not been determined:

- Isaac Giddings Jr., prior to 1767 (page 93)
- Peter Dodge (page 111)
- Nathan Brown, prior to 1784 (pages 146-147)
- Capt. Jacob Dodge, prior to 1743 (page 154)
- Lieut. Richard Dodge, prior to 1736 (pages 176-177)

There are two additional Wenham enslavers (Richard Hubbard Dodge and William Lofty) for whom no house site has been determined. This chapter covers those two cases and provides the information that is available about the enslaved people associated with the respective enslavers. Also included: enslaver Joseph Cummings of Ipswich, an enslaved member of whose household was baptized in Wenham.

This chapter also reviews those cases where enslavers cannot be determined or cannot be determined conclusively. Included here are people who are known to have been enslaved, or were people of color who were (1) born before the Revolution and (2) have not otherwise been identified as a free person of color.

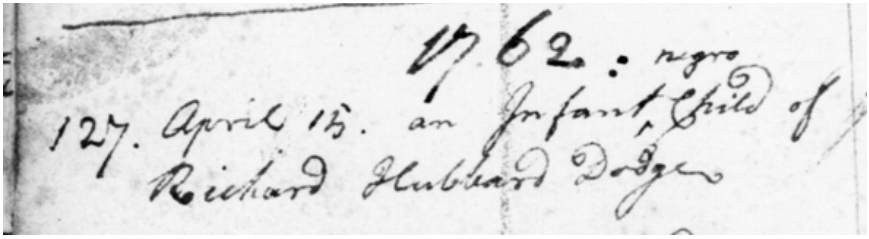
UNIDENTIFIED HOUSE SITES

1. The Richard Hubbard Dodge House

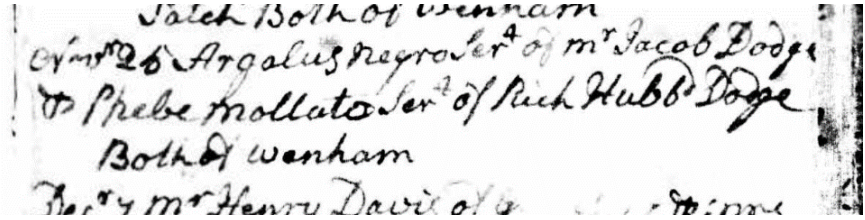
- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved child by 1762*
- *Residence of Phoebe by 1762*

Richard Hubbard Dodge (1737–1815) was a son of enslaver Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). He married Joanna Herrick (1738–1814) in 1758 and moved to Sutton, Massachusetts by 1764. They had seven children.[480] No deed was filed by Dodge for the purchase or sale of a house in Wenham. His father Capt. Jacob owned multiple properties in Wenham, and it's likely that Richard Hubbard Dodge lived on one of them—but no information has been found that indicates which property Richard may have lived on.[481]

In April 1762 an anonymous enslaved child (gender not recorded) died while part of the Dodge household, the child's death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[482] Phoebe, an enslaved woman of both African and European descent, was part of the Dodge household at that time. In November 1762 she married Archelaus (ca.1714–1789), a man who had previously been enslaved by Edward Waldren Jr. (1727–1822) and was enslaved by Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) at the time of their wedding.[483] It's possible that the child who died in 1762 was Phoebe's, but this is only a hypothesis. If Phoebe wasn't the mother, then there's a possibility that the Dodge household included another enslaved woman who has gone unrecorded. We don't know whether Phoebe went to Sutton with the Richard Hubbard Dodge family. But by 1766 she had been transferred to the Skipper Dodge household in Wenham (pages 159-160).



Record of the death of the anonymous enslaved infant in the Richard Hubbard Dodge household, 1762.[484]

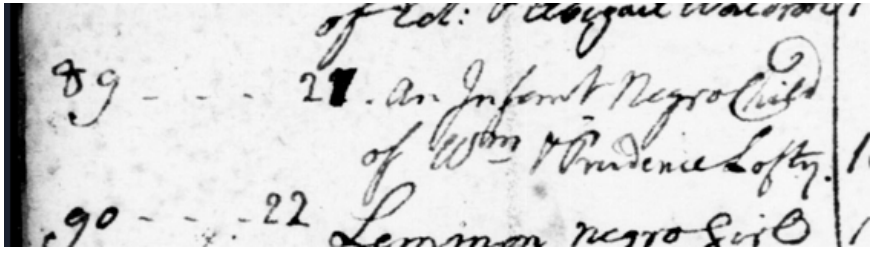


Town clerk's record of Archelaus ("Argalus") and Phoebe's wedding, 1762.[485]

2. The William Lofty House

- *Residence of an anonymous enslaved infant in 1759*

In 1759 an anonymous enslaved infant (gender not recorded) died while part of the William Lofty household, the infant's death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church. The presence of an enslaved infant indicates there was probably also an enslaved woman (the infant's mother) in the household who has gone unrecorded.[486]



Record of the death of the anonymous enslaved infant in the William Lofty household, 1753.[487]

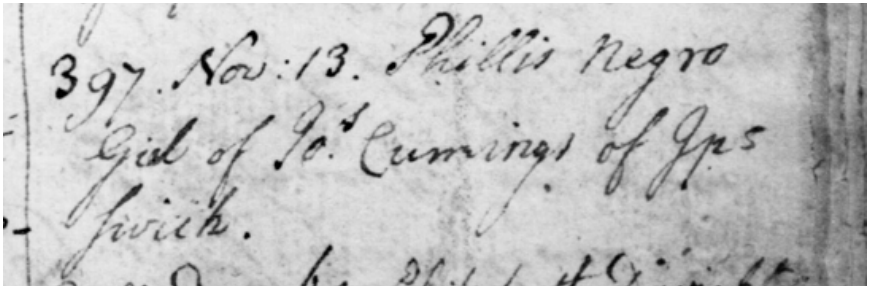
William Lofty and Prudence Wilkens were married in Wenham in 1746, and the births of five of their children were recorded in Wenham between 1747 and 1763. William and Prudence lived in Marblehead prior to moving to Wenham and moved to Manchester by 1765, but no records have been found for their births or deaths. No deed was filed by Lofty for the purchase

of a house in Wenham, and no deed was filed for the sale of his house. In 1753 the Loftys were living with Ipswich resident Samuel Patch (1733–1807), but Wenham's town records are silent on where the Loftys were living in 1759.[488]

3. The Joseph Cummings House, Ipswich

- *Residence of Phyllis in the Joseph Cummings household by 1768*

In 1768 an enslaved girl named Phyllis was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church.[489] Her enslaver was identified as Joseph Cummings of Ipswich (bp. 1722–1801)[490] and further research is needed to identify his house site.[491] The fact that Phyllis was baptized in Wenham and not in Ipswich is unexplained. One wonders whether she was the Phyllis Cummins [*sic*] who married Pompey Procter in Salem in 1796.[492]

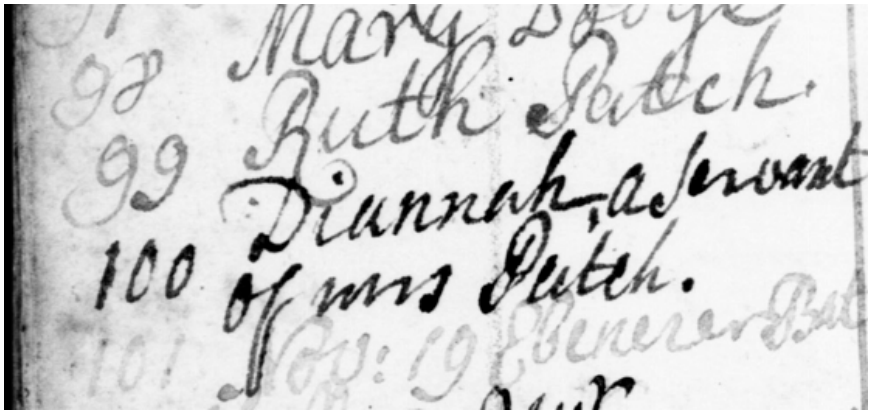


Record of Phyllis' baptism, 1768.[493]

ENSLAVED PEOPLE WITH UNIDENTIFIED ENSLAVERS

1. Diannah (bp. 1738)

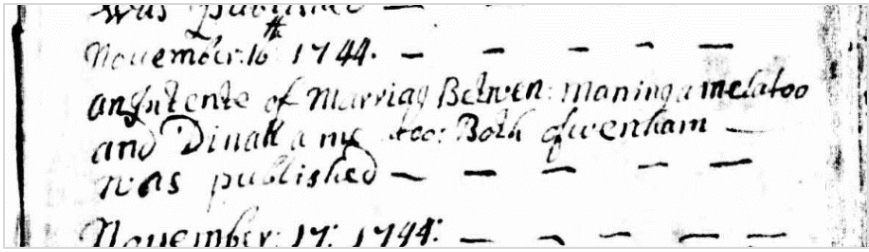
In July 1738 an enslaved girl named Diannah was baptized by the Wenham Congregational Church and owned the covenant. In October of that year she was admitted to full communion. (She was called a "girl" in the records of her baptism and owning of the covenant, but the word "girl" does not appear in the record of her admission.) The record of her baptism identifies her enslaver as "Mr. Patch" while the records of her owning of the covenant and admission identify her enslaver as "Mrs. Patch." The record of her admission appears immediately after that for the admission of Ruth Patch.[494] Given the proximity of the two admission records, Ruth (Waldren) (Stone) Patch (d. after 1751), wife of Stephen Patch (1681–1749), is the strongest candidate for Diannah's enslaver. However, there are other Mrs. Patches who are candidates.[495]



Record of Diannah's admission to full communion with the church, 1738. The record follows that for Ruth Patch, who is the strongest candidate for the identity of Diannah's enslaver.[496]

2. Dinah (m. 1744)

Dinah and an enslaved man named Manning announced their intention to marry in 1744, the town clerk's record noting that both Manning and Dinah were of both African and European descent but omitting the names of their respective enslavers.[497] We can identify Manning as the enslaved man by that name who was part of the Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) household, discussed on page 177.



Town clerk's record of the intention of marriage of Manning and Dinah, 1744.[498]

3. Plassey (m. 1777)

Plassey and a man named Boston announced their intention to marry in 1777. Unfortunately, the manuscript record of their announcement hasn't been found in either the Wenham town clerk's or Wenham Congregational Church's records; we know of it only through an early twentieth century collation of Wenham's vital records. In that collation Plassey's name is accompanied by "[?]" which indicates that the rendering of her name might be incorrect. Boston is identified as a "servant" "of Ipswich."[499] No other information has been found about either individual.

4. Patience & Samson (m. 1777)

Patience and a man named Samson [*sic*] announced their intention to marry in 1777, two weeks after Plassey and Boston's announcement. The manuscript record of Patience and Samson's announcement hasn't been found; we know of it only through an early twentieth century collation of Wenham's vital records.[500] Sampson Brown (Nathaniel Brown Jr. household, pages 84-86), is a strong candidate for Patience's fiancée, although this is a hypothesis. Perhaps Patience was the "maid servant" that enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. bequeathed to his wife when he wrote his will in 1774.[501]

5. Fortune Black(s) (active 1783 & perhaps 1809)

A man named Fortune Black paid a poll tax in Wenham in 1793.[502] Each year's tax had three components—a poll tax, a tax on real estate and a tax on personal property—and was recorded by precinct, more or less in geographical order within a given precinct. The names of people of color appeared at the end of each record's list of Wenham residents and immediately before the names of out-of-town residents who were assessed a property tax. Consequently, based on where Fortune's name appears in the tax record, we know that he was a person of color. In addition, a Fortune Black paid a poll tax in Wenham in 1809.[503] But given the absence of anyone by this name from Wenham's poll tax records during the intervening 26 years, it may be that the men in the 1783 and 1809 documents were two different people. Indeed, it is conceivable that the Fortune Black of 1809 may have changed his surname that year and was possibly the same man as Fortune Freeman (ca.1785–1840), discussed above.

6. Abner Black (active 1783–1790)

A man named Abner Black paid a poll tax in Wenham each year between 1783 and 1790.[504] As mentioned above in the discussion of Fortune Black, the names of people of color appeared at the end of each record's list of Wenham residents and immediately before the names of out-of-town residents who were assessed a property tax. Based on where Abner's name

appears in each year's record, we know that he was a person of color. No other record of him has been found. However, one wonders whether he was the same man as Abner Brown (page 85) who tried to live in Salem in 1790 but was warned out, perhaps adopting the surname Brown at the same time as his move to Salem.

7. Scipio(s), Phoebe, Venus & Children (active 1784–1811)

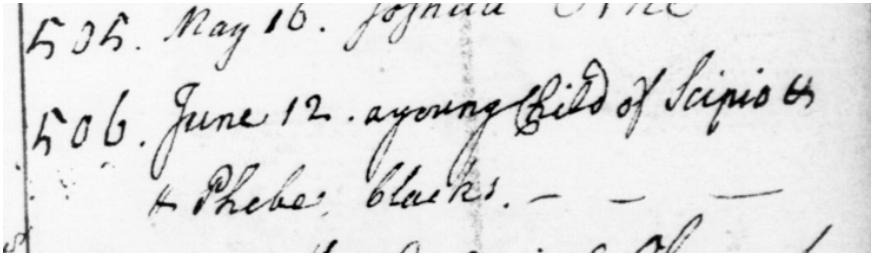
In 1784 a "young child" of Scipio and Phoebe died, the child's name, gender and age not recorded.[505] In 1788 a four year-old daughter of Scipio and Venus died, that girl's name not recorded.[506] In 1795 another child of Scipio and Venus died, his or her name, gender and age not recorded.[507] All three deaths were recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.

It is very possible that the Scipio who partnered with Phoebe was the same man who was later partnered with Venus, although no proof has been found that this was the case. A complicating factor is that a Scipio Black appears in Wenham's poll tax records between 1783 and 1790 and was the head of a three-person household in the 1790 census. Furthermore, a Scipio Freeman was the head of a four-person household in the 1800 census.[508] There was a certain amount of fluidity in the use of surnames by enslaved men (see, for example, the cases of Pompey Porter and Scipio Lummus on pages 77-79), and it is conceivable that Scipio Black and Scipio Freeman were the same man. It is also conceivable that Scipio Lee Dodge, who was part of the Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) household as late as 1776 (page 206), was the Scipio who partnered with Phoebe and/or Venus, and/or Scipio Black and/or Scipio Freeman.

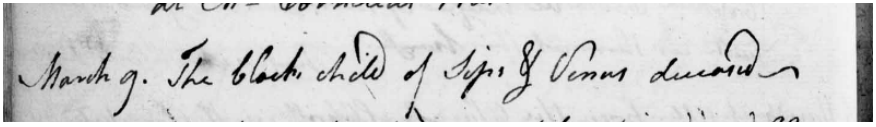
A man named Scipio, who was born about the year 1741, died in 1811, his death recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[509] Unfortunately, the record of his death doesn't provide any information that allows us to identify him as the Scipio who partnered with Phoebe and/or Venus, or the Scipio Black of the 1790 census, or the Scipio Freeman of the 1800 census.

Phoebe does not seem to be the woman by the same name who married Archelaus in 1762 (pages 146, 154-156, 168, 244-245), since Archelaus lived until 1789.

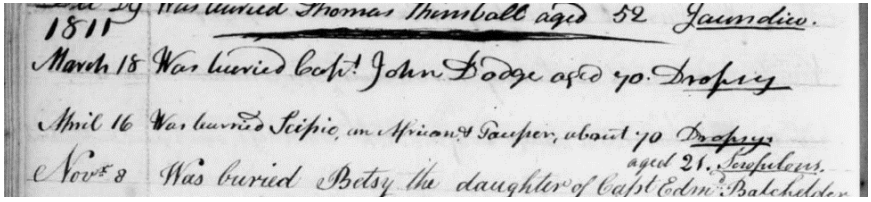
No candidate has been found for Venus.



Record of the death of the anonymous child of Scipio and Phoebe, 1784.[510]



Record of the death of the anonymous child of Scipio and Venus, 1795.[511]


1811
March 18 Was buried Capt. John Dodge aged 70. Dropsy
April 16 Was buried Scipio, an African & Pauper, about 70 Dropsy
Nov. 8 Was buried Betsy the daughter of Capt. Edm. Bateheldor aged 21. Scrofulous.

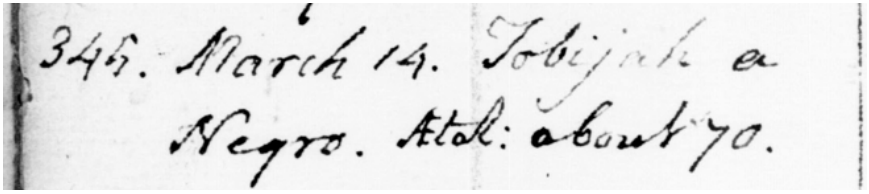
Record of Scipio's burial, 1811. He was identified as "an African."[512]

8. Peter Black (active 1786–1790)

A man named Peter Black paid a poll tax in Wenham each year between 1786 and 1790.[513] As discussed above in the context of Fortune and Abner Black, the names of people of color appeared at the end of each record's list of Wenham residents and immediately before the names of out-of-town residents who were assessed a property tax. Based on where Peter's name appears in each year's record, we know that he was a person of color. No other record of him has been found.

9. Tobijah (ca.1719–1789)

Tobijah died in 1789 about the age of 70, his death being recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church.[514] No other information about him has been found.


345. March 14. Tobijah a
Negro. Aetat: about 70.

Record of Tobijah's death, 1789.[515]

10. Prince Freeman (active 1794)

A man named Prince Freeman paid a poll tax in Wenham in 1794.[516] As discussed above in the context of Fortune, Abner and Peter Black, the names of people of color appeared at the end of each record's list of Wenham residents and immediately before the names of out-of-town residents who were assessed a property tax. Based on where Prince's name appears in the tax record, we know that he was a person of color. No other record of him has been found.

11. Amos (active in the nineteenth century)

According to a 1975 article in a local newspaper, Wenham resident Donald Bell (1896–1979) said

> many years ago, [Bell] heard stories about an ex-slave named Amos who was still living in Wenham after the Civil War. [Bell] believes that Amos, and perhaps some other slaves, once lived in the area which is now his front yard

at 14 Dodges Row.[517] Amos is unidentified. He does not appear in Wenham's Federal censuses for 1850–1880 or 1900 (the 1890 Federal census having been lost in a fire) or state censuses of 1855, 1865 or 1875.[518] One question that has not been explored for this book is whether any of the people of color living in Wenham after the Civil War had been enslaved in the South prior to the war.

In 1976 Eleanor (Cole) Coolidge (1894–1996) wrote to Susanne "Snooky" (LaCroix) Phippen (1927–2015) about an incident that occurred around the year 1897:

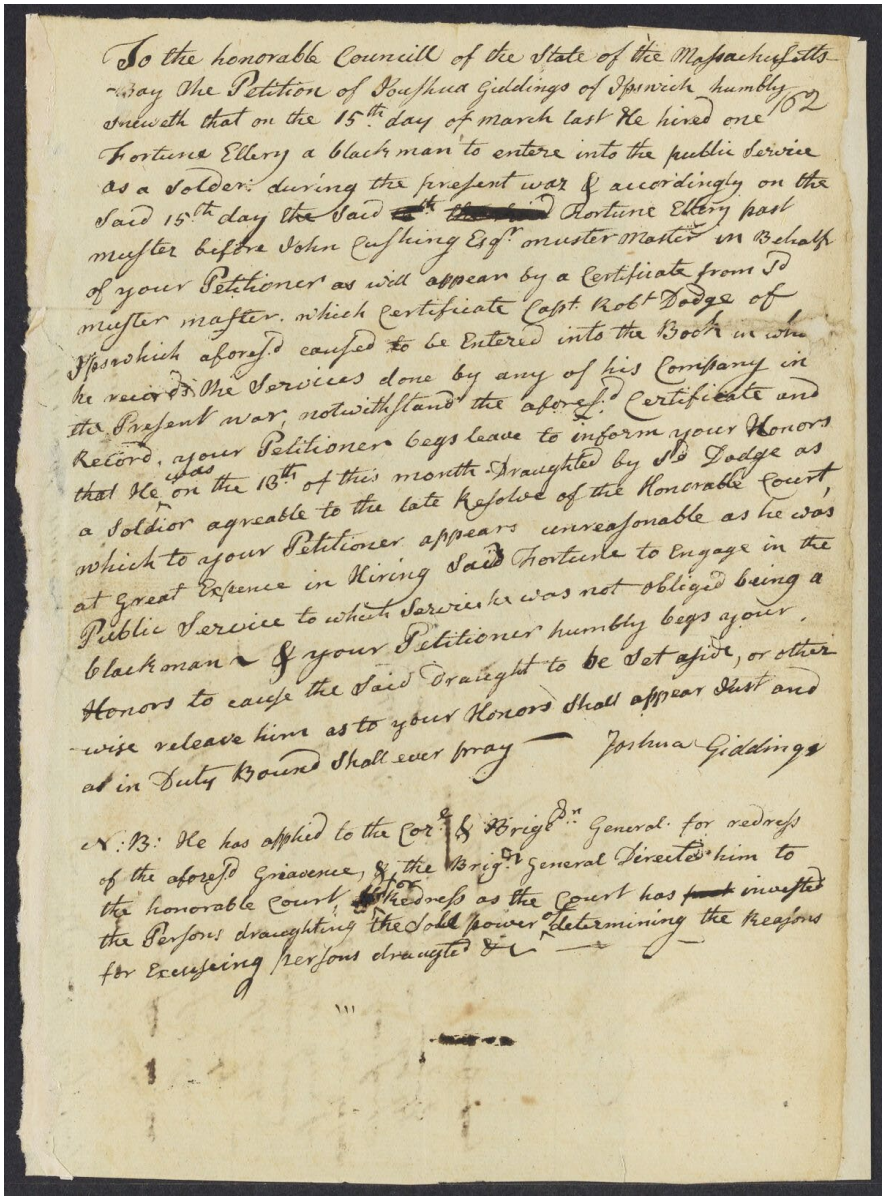
> A funny thing about Pompey (the black man) Lawrence (Dodge) mentioned.[519] A black family lived near the Wenham Baptist Church near where Miriam Bell lives. I was told they were Pompey's relatives. They had a little boy by the name of Jimmy who became my brother's close friend, and he cut his finger badly. My brother told me "it bled white blood" so at the age of three, I went to call, and asked to see it. I'll never forget the spanking I received; the best ever.[520]

Jimmy is unidentified. There are no people of color tallied in Wenham's federal census of 1900, and as note above, the 1890 census has been lost. Perhaps Jimmy was Amos's son or grandson?

People of Color with Undetermined Legal Status

1. Fortune Ellery (d. 1786)

Described as a "black man" with no indication of enslaved vs. free legal status, Fortune Ellery was hired by Ipswich resident Joshua Giddings (1745–1835) to serve in Giddings' place during the Revolutionary War. If Fortune was enslaved at the time Giddings hired him, Giddings' petition would have identified Fortune's enslaver. This not being the case, we can hypothesize that Fortune was a free man of color. But, if so, we don't know when Fortune acquired his freedom. (Was he enslaved at one point, or was he born a free man?) It should be noted that Wenham resident soldier Isaac Giddings Jr. (bp. 1721–1802, discussed on page 93) was an enslaver, and it is tempting to hypothesize that Ellery may have been employed by or enslaved by Giddings. Fortune's residence was identified as Wenham in a list of soldiers that was made probably in 1778. The site of his residence, however, has not been determined. He died in 1786 in Ipswich.[521]



To the honorable Council of the State of the Massachusetts-Bay The Petition of Joshua Giddings of Ipswich humbly sheweth that on the 15th day of march last He hired one Fortune Ellery a black man to enter into the public Service as a Soldier during the present war & accordingly on the said 15th day the said ~~[redacted]~~ Fortune Ellery past muster before John Cushing Esqr muster Master in Behalf of your Petitioner as will appear by a Certificate from Sd muster master. which Certificate Capt. Robt Dodge of Ipswich aforesd caused to be Entered into the Book in the he recd & the Services done by any of his Company in the Present war, notwithstanding the aforesd Certificate and Record, your Petitioner begs leave to inform your Honors that He was on the 13th of this month Draughted by Sd Dodge as a Soldier agreable to the late Resolve of the Honorable Court, which to your Petitioner appears unreasonable as he was at great Expence in Hiring Said Fortune to Engage in the Public Service to which Service he was not obliged being a black man & your Petitioner humbly begs your Honors to cause the said Draught to be Set aside, or other-wise release him as to your Honors shall appear Just and as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray — Joshua Giddings

N.B. He has applied to the Col & Brigd. General for redress of the aforesd Grievance, & the Brigd. General Directed him to the honorable Court for redress as the Court has ~~[illegible]~~ invested the Persons draughting the Said power of determining the reasons for Excuseing persons draughted &c —

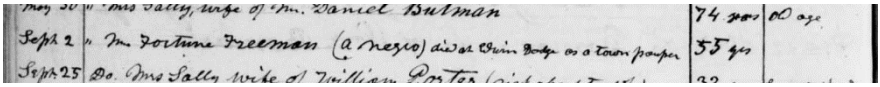
Petition of Joshua Giddings (1745–1835) seeking relief from being drafted during the Revolutionary War, by virtue of having hired Fortune Ellery to serve in Giddings' place, 1777.[522]

2. Fortune Freeman (ca.1785–1840)

Fortune was born about the year 1785 and died in Wenham in 1840. He seems to have arrived in Wenham in 1809, which was the first year that he paid a poll tax in Wenham.[523] Fortune married Phyllis Bryant in 1813 at the Wenham Congregational Church. The record of their wedding identifies both as being of Wenham and identifies both as "blacks" (which in itself shows an evolution of language away from the commonly used term "negroes" that had been used in Wenham during the eighteenth century). But the record provides no further clues about Fortune's or Phyllis' origins.[524] Given the approximate year of his birth, it's an open question whether he was born enslaved or was born a free person of color. More information about Phyllis appears on pages 193-199.

Fortune does not appear by name in the 1810 Federal census for Wenham, although he could have been tallied anonymously as a member of someone else's household. Abraham Dodge (1764–1841), John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834[525]), Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857) and Nathaniel Kimball (1770–1855) each had one free person of color in their respective households in the 1810 census.[526] But not all census-takers recorded everything they were supposed to. In the 1820 Federal census, Wenham's enumeration excludes the column that tallied people of color. The Hamilton document (which is in the same handwriting as Wenham's) also excludes this column. The Danvers document, however, *does* include the column. Phyllis Freeman appears by name in the 1830 census as the head of a one-person household. She was the only person of color tallied in the town, and apparently she and Fortune had separated.

Fortune was a creditor to Wenham resident Samuel Batchelder (1763–1836), who in 1821 was deemed a spendthrift by the probate court, his neighbors complaining of Batchelder's "excessive drinking and idleness."[527] When he died in 1840, the church's record of Fortune's death noted that he died at Edwin Dodge's (1794–1860) house as a town pauper.[528]



Record of Fortune Freeman's death, 1840.[529]

3. Winnie

In 1950 local historian Adeline Cole (1866–1959) wrote to Allan Forbes (unidentified), saying:

> Winnie, longtime a servant on the Nicholas Dodge [F]arm, passed her later years in a cottage on the Gail Hamilton estate. Winnie was a mulatto with many a folk song to enliven her work. Hasty pudding was a standby supper dish, and the refrain of "Puff and Twitch" was better than a supper bell to the neighbors.[530]

It hasn't been determined when Winnie was born or died, or whether her legal status was ever one of enslavement.

Cole's reference to the Nicholas Dodge Farm calls to mind Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835) as well as his son Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857) who owned the farm associated with the Daniel Claflin House (discussed on pages 176-179), the property on which Cole lived. Nicholas Dodge (1819–1895)[531] is another candidate. Unfortunately, census records don't help identify Winnie. No "Winnie" or "Winifred" who was a person of color appears in any Federal census for Wenham prior to 1950 or in the state censuses of 1855, 1865 or 1875.

"Gail Hamilton" was the pen name of author Mary Abigail Dodge (1833–1896) who was born in Hamilton.[532] No "Winnie" or "Winifred" who was a person of color appears in any Federal census for Hamilton prior to 1950 or in the state censuses of 1855, 1865 or 1875.

480 Herrick and Herrick (1885), 238, 243. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:120. Essex Institute (1904), 28, 45, 111, 129. Rice (1907), 415. Corcoran (2023), 47. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #6993532 and 6993533.

J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:120 says that Richard Hubbard Dodge moved to Sutton in 1762, but enslaved household member Phoebe's marriage to Archelaus occurred in Wenham in November of that year. Essex Institute (1904), 180, 184. In 1764 Richard Hubbard Dodge—identified in the deed as being of Sutton—bought a 97-acre farm with buildings in Sutton; see Worcester County Deeds 52:185 (Dudley and Allace [*sic*] Chase to Richard Hubbard Dodge, 1764).

481 Dodge's surviving probate file does not include an inventory, and his will makes no mention of real estate other than the house in which he was living in Sutton. Worcester County Probate 17130 (Richard H. Dodge, 1815). There is no probate file for him with Essex County. It is noteworthy—and unexplained—that Richard is not named in his father's will. Essex County Probate 7870 (Capt. Jacob Dodge, 1793), Will (1788). Was that perhaps because Capt. Jacob had already given a farm to Richard, the subsequent sale of which went unrecorded?

482 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

483 Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181.

484 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 66: "1762 [#]127. April 15. an Infant negro Child of Richard Hubbard Dodge."

485 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 196): "Nov^{r} 25 Argalus Negro Ser^{t} of M^{r} Jacob Dodge & Phebe [*sic*] Mollato [*sic*] Ser^{t} of Rich Hubb^{d} Dodge Both of Wenham."

Archelaus and Phoebe's wedding was performed by Rev. Joseph Swain in November of 1762, but Swain didn't record their wedding in the Congregational Church's records. Indeed, Swain stopped recording weddings in the church's records in January of 1762 and started recording them with the town clerk instead. For Swain's records of weddings for 1750 through January 1762 see Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 31-32, 85-87.

486 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

487 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 67: "[#]90. [April] 21. An Infant Negro Child of W^{m} & Prudence Lofty."

488 Essex County Deeds 113:128 (William and Prudence Lofty to Samuel Lee, mortgage, 1765) and 116:281 (Samuel Lee to William Lofty, discharge, 1770). Essex Institute (1904), 58, 143, 146. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 72. A Prudence Lofty married Jacob Ober in Manchester at the end of 1770. Essex Institute (1903), 193, 203. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #32473262.

489 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 178. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904).

490 Mooar (1903), 77-78. Topsfield Historical Society (1903–1916), 1:31, 214. Cummins (1904), 82-83. Cummings had a son Joseph Cummings Jr. (1745–1788). But if the son had been Phyllis' enslaver, her baptismal record would have included "Jr." in his identification. Mooar (1903), 173-175. Cummins (1904), 191-194. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #10604-5160.

491 Mooar (1903), 77-78. Cummins (1904), 82-83.

492 Essex Institute (1916–1925), 4:503, 521.

493 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 178: "[#]397. Nov: 13. Phillis [*sic*] Negro Girl of Jo^{s} Cumings [*sic*] of Ipswich."

494 *Ibid.*, 39, 55, 123. Baptism not recorded in Essex Institute (1904). "Owning the covenant" represented a middle level of church membership that denoted the absence of a conversion or personal confession of faith that would otherwise allow for full communion with the church.

495 Stephen Patch (1681–1749) married Ruth (Waldren) Stone in 1728. He was a selectman in 1733 and in 1741; therefore, he might have enjoyed enough respect in town that there was no need to include either his or his wife's first name in the records of Diannah's baptism, owning of the covenant, and admission. Although Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #15568-4424 says that Ruth died in 1783, corroboration of this date has yet to be found. Nonetheless, she was living as late as 1751; see Essex County Probate 20737 (Stephen Patch, 1749), :52 Account (1751). Perley (1888), 2:1247. Essex Institute (1904), 66, 152, 168, 214. W. G. Davis (1930), 11. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 209, 210, 211. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 12, 13, 15, 19, 23, 38, 46, 49.

Ignoring the proximity of Diannah's and Ruth Patch's names in the records of their admissions, and focusing solely on genealogy, there are three other potential Mrs. Patches.

- Timothy Patch Sr. (d. 1746) married Elizabeth Poland (d. 1742) in 1705. He was a selectman in 1735 and therefore might have enjoyed enough respect that there was no need to include either his or his wife's first name in the relevant church records regarding Diannah. Indeed, Elizabeth (Poland) Patch is the next-strongest candidate for "Mrs. Patch" after Ruth (Waldren) (Stone) Patch. Perley (1888), 2:1247. Essex Institute (1904), 152, 159, 214, 215. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:232, 248. Essex Institute (1910), 2:329, 358. Wenham Historical Society (1938), 210. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 23, 24, 27, 30, 39, 46.
- Simon Patch (ca.1686–1749) married Martha Goldsmith (d. 1747), the intention of their marriage published in 1712. Essex County Probate 20736 (Simon Patch, 1749). Essex Institute (1904), 124, 152, 214. Simon, however, had a lower profile in town affairs during the 1730s compared to Stephen Patch (1681–1749) and Timothy Patch Sr. (d. 1746). Consequently, he and his wife don't seem to have had the social-political standing to merit the exclusion of their names from the relevant church records regarding Diannah. Martha (Goldsmith) Patch doesn't seem to be a strong candidate for "Mrs. Patch."
- Timothy Patch Jr. (1708–1751) married Rachel Woodberry (d. 1758) in 1731. Essex County Probate 20744 (Timothy Patch, 1751). Essex Institute (1904), 66, 152, 178, 215. Essex Institute (1910), 2:329, 465. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 41, 47. Timothy Jr. had a lower profile in town affairs during the 1730s compared to Stephen Patch (1681–1749) and Timothy Patch Sr. (d. 1746). Consequently, he and his wife don't seem to have had the social-political standing to merit the exclusion of their names from the relevant church records regarding Diannah. Rachel (Woodberry) Patch doesn't seem to be a strong candidate for "Mrs. Patch." For Timothy Patch Jr.'s residence see Corcoran (2025), 210-211, 407, 555-557, in which Timothy Patch Jr. is referred to as "Timothy Patch." Further research is needed to determine whether this house was the residence of Stephen Patch (1681–1749) and/or Timothy Patch Sr. (d. 1746).

Thomas Patch Jr. (1674–1754)—a man who was old enough in 1738 (64 years) to perhaps merit being called "Mr. Patch"—appears not to have married. No record of his marriage was recorded in Wenham, Beverly or Ipswich; no births of his children were recorded in Wenham, Beverly or Ipswich; and no wife is mentioned in his will. Essex County Probate 20743 (Thomas Patch, 1754), :3 Will (1749). Essex Institute (1904), 66, 214. Wenham Historical Society (1938),

210, 211. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 19. There is no release of dower in Essex County Deeds 83:8 (Thomas Patch [Jr.] to Nathaniel Poland, 1738/9), although the property conveyed by the deed did not include a house, and a release of dower would not have been required if Patch were married.

A Thomas Patch of Beverly married Elizabeth Standley in Beverly in 1736, but this man was still living in Beverly in 1740 and therefore his wife Elizabeth is not a candidate for "Mrs. Patch" of Wenham. Essex County Deeds 84:113 (Thomas Patch to Thomas Patch Jr., 1740). Upham (1905), 251.

496 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 39: "[#]100 Diannah, a Servant of mrs [*sic*] Patch."

497 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 180). Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181. A Dinah (John Gott Jr. household) was baptized in 1754 at the same time as her brothers Hampshire and Caesar. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 44. Essex Institute (1904), 84. But the baptismal record identifies her as the daughter of enslaved people Hazard and Flora and not as the wife of Manning, indicating that there were two Dinahs.

498 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 180): "November. 16th 1744.—An Intente [*sic*] of Marriag [*sic*] Betwen [*sic*]: Maning [*sic*] a melatoo [*sic*] and Dinah a melatoo [*sic*]: Both of Wenham was published."

499 Essex Institute (1904), 180, 181.

500 *Ibid.*, 181.

501 Essex County Probate 3756 (Nathaniel Brown [Jr.], 1778). 3756:9 Will (1774).

502 Town of Wenham, MS (1783–1803), unnumbered pages (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frame 229).

503 Town of Wenham, MS (1803–1822), unnumbered page (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frames 417.)

504 Town of Wenham, MS (1783–1803), unnumbered pages (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frames 226, 229, 232, 236, 240, 244, 247, 252).

505 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 188. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Given the child's birth likely occurred after the Revolution, he or she is assumed to have been a free person of color and therefore is excluded from Appendix A.

506 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 180. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Given the girl's birth occurred after the Revolution, she is assumed to have been a free person of color and therefore is excluded from Appendix A.

507 Wenham First Congregational Church (1792–1847), MS, 30. Essex Institute (1904), 227. Given the child's birth likely occurred after the Revolution, he or she is assumed to have been a free person of color and therefore is excluded from Appendix A.

508 Town of Wenham, MS (1783–1803), unnumbered pages (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frames 226, 229, 232, 236, 240, 244, 247, 252, 256, 260, 264, 266, 269, 272, 275); no entries found for Scipio Freeman during the period 1783 through 1813. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1790:690 and 1800:563.

509 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 34.

510 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 188: "[#]506. June 12. a young Child of Scipio & & [*sic*] Phebe [*sic*] blacks."

511 Wenham First Congregational Church (1792–1847), MS, 30: "March 9. The black child of Sips & Venus deceased."

512 *Ibid.*, 34: "April 16 Was burried [*sic*] Scipio, an African & Pauper, about 70 Dropsy." It's possible that his identification as "an African" was a generic reference to his race and not necessarily a record of his origin.

513 Town of Wenham, MS (1783–1803), unnumbered pages (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frames 254, 258, 264, 266, 270, 273).

514 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 179. Essex Institute (1904), 227.

515 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805), 179: "[#]345. March 14. Tobijah a Negro. Ætat: about 70."

516 Town of Wenham, MS (1783–1803), unnumbered page (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frame 314).

517 T. Johnson (1975), a copy of which appears in Appendix L. For Bell see Crowley and Lunt (1954), 941. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #126434371.

518 The reference to Bell's "front yard" as the locus of enslaved people's residence seems odd. Was Bell perhaps misquoted?

519 See Appendix H.

520 Coolidge (1976). Coolidge was the daughter of Wenham historian Adeline Cole; see "Massachusetts, U.S., Marriage Records, 1840–1915," 1915:Mancester:599 (frame 1); and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #75267880. For recipient of the letter Susanne "Snooky" (LaCroix) Phippen see "Susanne Phippen" (2015); Castelluccio (2019); and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #169458479. For Miriam (Woodward) Bell (1908–1989), wife of Donald Bell, see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #126434381.

521 J. Giddings, MS (1777), 167:162. Cogswell, MS (1778), 41:86. Green, MS (1778), 61:24. McNall (1778), 61:152 (frame 555), Fortune Allory. McNall, MS (1778?), 11:46. M. Fairfield (attributed), MS (1779), 11:56 (frame 525). Green, MS (1779), 22:98. Anonymous, MS (1783), 28:245 (frame 243). Anonymous, MS (1787), 31:186 (frame 582), posthumous. Anonymous, MS (no date) 68:39 (frame 578). Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 5:278-279. Essex Institute (1910–1919), 2:719. Cole (1943), 71. Harris (2023, 2024). Corcoran (2025), 4, 6, 95-97. For identification of Joshua Giddings see Giddings and Giddings (1998), 86; and Secretary of the Commonwealth (1896–1908), 6:399.

McNall, MS (1778?), 11:46 identifies Ellery as "belonging to" the town of Wenham but "engaged for" the town of Ipswich. Fortune Ellery does not appear in the 1775, 1776 or 1777 Wenham tax rolls. His absence is consistent with an enslaved status, but it is also consistent with a farm hand (with free legal status) living in Wenham who didn't pay a poll tax. Wenham's tax rolls for 1778–1782 have been lost. Corcoran (2025), 95.

A hypothesis has been made that Fortune Ellery had been enslaved by Nathaniel Haskell (either 1718–1808 or 1743–1827) of Gloucester and was manumitted by Haskell in 1777. Harris (2023, 2024). See also Cape Ann Slavery and Abolition Trust (2024). But I have yet to see enough evidence for me to share this hypothesis, particularly because the manumission document does not include Fortune's surname:

Glocester [*sic*] October 25 1777

These may certify that i [*sic*] Nathaniel Haskell of sd glocster [*sic*] in the county of Essex in the State of Massachusetts Bay in New England for divers causes and considerations have remised released and set free this Negro whose name is Fortune the Bearer of this instrument who has been my lawfull [*sic*] servant from his infancy to this day: so that now he hath full power to conduct and act for himself

Witness my hand Nathaniel Haskell

Haskell, MS (1777).

522 J. Giddings, MS (1777), 167:162:

To the honorable Councill [*sic*] of the State of the Massachusetts Bay The Petition of Joshua Giddings of Ipswich humbly sheweth [*sic*] that on the 15th day of March last He hired one Fortune Ellery a black man to entere [*sic*] into the public Service as a solder [*sic*] during the present war & accordingly on the Said 15th day the Said Fortune Ellery past [*sic*] muster before John Cushing Esqr muster master in Behalf of your Petitioner as will appear by a Certificate from sd muster master, which Certificate Capt. Robt Dodge of Ipswhich [*sic*] aforesd caused to be Entered into the Book in which he records the Services done by any of his Company in the Present war, notwithstand [*sic*] the aforesd Certificate and Record, your Petitioner begs leave to inform your Honors that He was on the 13th of this month Draughted [*sic*] by sd Dodge as a Soldior [*sic*] agreable [*sic*] to the late Resolve of the Honorable Court, which to your Petitioner appears unreasonable as he was at Great Expence [*sic*] in Hiring Said Fortune to Engage in the Public Service to which Service he was not obliged being a black man ~ & your Petitioner humbly begs your Honors to cause the Said Draught [*sic*] to be Set aside, or otherwise releave [*sic*] him as to your Honors Shall appear just and as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray — Joshua Giddings

N:B: He has applied to the Corl & Bridedr General for redress of the aforesd Griavence [*sic*] & the Brigdr General Directed him to the honorable Court for Redress as the Court has invested the Persons draughting [*sic*] the Soll [*sic*] power of determining the Reasons for Excuseing [*sic*] persons draughted [*sic*] &c.

On the reverse of the document:

Council Chamber Augt. 16th 77

upon [*sic*] the Petition of Joshua Giddings of Ipswich, praying to be Released from Serving as a drafted Person from the Company of Capt. Rober Dodge, for the Reasons in said Petition Set forth ~ Viz that He had at his own expense procured a Man to Serve in the Continental Army for three years ~ Ordered that the said Joshua Giddings Be and hereby is Released from said Draft of the 13th [June?] last and that the Said Capt. Dodge is hereby directed to procure another able bodied Soldier in the said Giddings Room.

Read & Accepted

Jno Avery D[eput]y […]y

523 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42. Town of Wenham, MS (1803–1822), unnumbered pages (FamilySearch.org, Tax Records 1731–1840, Wenham, Massachusetts, frames 420, 423, 427, 429, 435, 451.) Essex Institute (1904), 226.

The Wenham-resident Fortune Freeman should not be confused with the Fortune Freeman who served during the Revolutionary War (in 1781) on behalf of the town of Topsfield—a man who was a generation older than the Wenham resident. Anonymous, MS (1781), 29:103.

524 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 152. Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), 12, 22 (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frames 294, 295). Essex Institute (1904), 180.

525 The census-taker's inclusion of "Jr." seems to indicate that Capt. John Dodge's (1740–1811) son John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834) was considered the head of the Capt. John Dodge household. John Jr. inherited the Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House from his father in 1811. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174-175.

526 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1810:50. Abraham Dodge (1764–1841) would later sign a petition advocating abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people; see Appendix I.

The 1810 census includes five people of color, one of whom was Pompey Porter (1752–1833, pages 77-78) in the Dr. Tyler Porter household.

527 Essex County Probate 2110 (Samuel Batchelder, spendthrift, 1821), :24 List of Debts (1822), :34 Account (1833). For identification of Samuel Batchelder see Pierce (1898), 374.

528 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42. Essex Institute (1904), 226.

Edwin Dodge's house was to the northwest of the intersection of Grapevine Road and Hull Street. Walling (1856), "E. Dodge" House.

529 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42: "Sept 2 [was buried] Mr Fortune Freeman (a negro) died at Edwin Dodge[']s as a town pauper 55 yrs."

530 Cole (1950).

531 Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947666.

532 Pierce (1896), 85. Essex Institute (1908), 16. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #50076-450.

APPENDICES

A: **Identified Members of Wenham's Enslaved Community**

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C: **"The Two Taverns"**

D: **1774 Newspaper Article**

E: **Ownership of the White's Mill Complex**

F: **Ownership of the Dodge Mill Complex**

G: **1889 Newspaper Article**

H: **Pompey's Island**

I: **Wenham's Abolitionists in the 1830s**

J: **Street & Place Names**

K: **The "Mystery Stones"**

L: **1975 Newspaper Article**

M: **2005 Newspaper Article**

APPENDIX A:
IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF WENHAM'S ENSLAVED COMMUNITY

Between 109 and 122 people have been identified who

- were enslaved or
- were people of color who were (1) born before the Revolution and (2) have not otherwise been identified as a free person of color.

They are arranged here alphabetically by first name with their year(s) of birth or other life event. Those whose names have not been found are grouped chronologically as "Name not recorded." The 109-122 range reflects the possibility of double-counting. Deduplicating people—i.e., sorting through cases where multiple people who didn't use a surname but share the same given name—is a challenge. In some cases (e.g., Archelaus, Hazor/Hazard), de-duping is straightforward, and their enslavers' names are presented in chronological order. But in a larger number of cases, de-duping is educated guesswork. Candidates for double-counting are identified with "[A]" through "[L]."

Abbreviations: "act." (active), "b." (born), "bp." (baptized), "d." (died), "m." (married) and "own." (owned the covenant).

Enslaved Person	Enslaver(s)
Abijah/Byiah (bp. 1742, act. 1759)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Abner (bp. 1752, act. 1761)[A] [B] [C]	Josiah White
Abner (act. by 1771–1773)[A]	Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.
Abner Black (act. 1783–1790)[C]	Unknown
Abner Brown (act. 1771?–1790) [B] [C]	Nathaniel Brown Jr.
Adam Black (m. 1735, act. 1742)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Adam Black Jr. (bp. 1742)	Josiah Dodge Jr.
Amos (act. nineteenth century)	Unknown
Archelaus (b. ca.1714, d. 1789)	Edward Waldren Jr.
	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Arnold (act. 1768–1769)	Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.
Brookes (act. 1768–1769)	Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.
Caesar (d. 1723)	Lieut. John Gott
Caesar (b. 1749, act. 1760)[D]	Jonathan Porter
Caesar (bp. 1754, d. 1759)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Caesar (act. 1754, d. 1773)	Caleb Coy
	William Cleaves
Caesar (act. 1758)	Daniel Gott
Caesar (bp. 1766)	Skipper Dodge
Caesar (act. 1766)[D]	Ens. Benjamin Kimball
Cate (act.1758)	Daniel Gott
Daniel (act. 1758–1778)	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Deborah (m. 1738, act. 1761)[E]	Joseph Herrick (Topsfield)
	Josiah White
Deborah (d. 1764)[E]	Andrew Cole
Diannah (bp. 1738)	Mrs. Patch
Dinah (bp. 1754)[F]	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Dinah (act. 1766)[F]	Ens. Benjamin Kimball
Dinah (m. 1744)	Unknown
Eli (act. 1773–1776)	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Flora (act. 1754, d. 1757)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Flora (bp. 1759)	John Dodge (1717–1779)
Flora (d. 1763)	Isaac Giddings Jr.
Flora (d. 1770)	Skipper Dodge?
Fortune Black (act. 1783)[G]	Unknown
Fortune Black (act. 1809)[G]	Unknown
Frank (act. 1773)	Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.
Grace (act. 1753–1758)	Daniel Gott

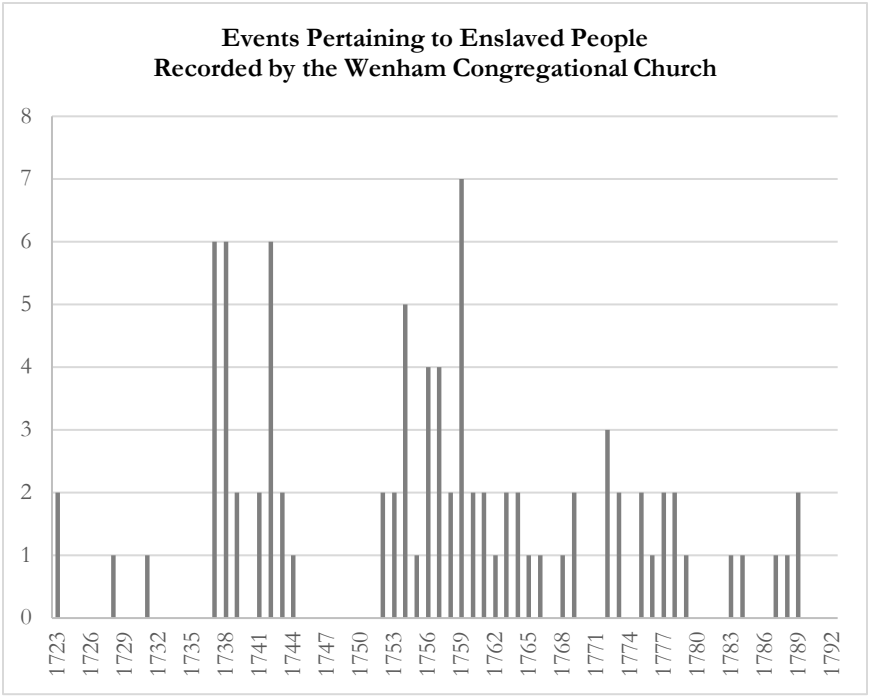
Enslaved Person	Enslaver(s)
Hampshire (b. late 1730s or 1740s, act. 1754–1778) Hampshire (d. 1756) Hazor/Hazard (b.1720 or 1721, act. 1762) Jack (bp. 1743)[H] Jack (act. 1754–1762)[H]	Lieut. Richard Dodge Maj. Richard Dodge Jr. Skipper Dodge Nehemiah Dodge (Ipswich) Lieut. Richard Dodge John Gott Jr. Lieut. William Dodge Lieut. Richard Dodge
Jane (d. 1772) Jean/Jenny Black (m. 1735, act. 1742) Jenny (d. 1728) Jethro (act. 1773–1781) Judith (m. 1758, act. 1759)	Dr. William Fairfield Josiah Dodge Jr. Lieut. William Dodge Capt. Jacob Dodge Jerusha (Woodbury) (Rayment) Dodge (Beverly) John Dodge (1717–1779)
Lazarus (d. 1776) Lemmon (d. 1759) London (d. 1778) Lucy (d. 1759) Manning (bp. 1742, act. 1772)	Nathaniel Brown Jr. William Davison Dr. William Fairfield Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810) Lieut. Richard Dodge Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811)
Mingo (act. 1703) Nancy 1st (b. 1755, d. 1757) Nancy Porter 2nd (b. 1760, d. 1825) Patience (m. 1777)[I] Peter (d. 1723)	Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) Daniel Dodge Jonathan Porter Lydia (Tyler) Porter Dr. Tyler Porter Lieut. Thomas Emerson (Topsfield) Unknown Lieut. William Dodge
Peter (b. 1759, d. 1759) Peter Black (act. 1786–1790) Phoebe (m. 1762, act. 1770) Phoebe (act. 1784) Phyllis (bp. 1768)	Jonathan Porter Unknown Unknown Richard Hubbard Dodge Skipper Dodge Unknown Joseph Cummings (Ipswich)
Phyllis Black (bp. 1739) Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman (b. ca.1770, d. 1859) Plassey (m. 1777) Pompey (bp. 1737) Pompey Black (b. ca.1717, d. 1731)	Josiah Dodge Jr. Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) Unknown Josiah Fairfield William Hilton 3rd (Manchester) Lieut. William Dodge

Enslaved Person	Enslaver(s)
Pompey Porter (b. 1752, d. 1833)	Jonathan Porter Lydia (Tyler) Porter Dr. Tyler Porter
Primus (d. 1777)	John Dodge (1717–1779)
Primus Boorgillar (act. 1737–1773)	Robert Cue Jr. Mary (Porter) Cue
Prince Freeman (act. 1794)	Unknown
Sally (b. ca.1791, d. 1807)	Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811)
Sampson Brown (act. 1771?–after 1792)[J]	Nathaniel Brown Jr.
Samson (m. 1777)[J]	Unknown
Sarah Black (m. 1748, d. 1783)	Jonathan Porter Lydia (Tyler) Porter Dr. Tyler Porter
Scipio (b. ca.1741, d. 1811)[K?]	Unknown
Scipio (act. 1753–1758)	Daniel Gott
Scipio (act. 1768–1771?)	Peter Dodge
Scipio (act. 1784–1788)[K]	Unknown
Scipio (act. 1795)[K]	Unknown
Scipio Black (m. 1748, d. 1765)	Jonathan Porter Lydia (Tyler) Porter
Scipio Black (act. 1783–1790)[K?]	Unknown
Scipio Freeman (act. 1800)[K?]	Unknown
Scipio Lee Dodge (act. 1765–1776)	Maj. Richard Dodge Jr.
Scipio Lummus (b. 1720s or 1730s, act. 1775–1808)	Samuel Lummus Jr. (Ipswich) John Lummus (Hamilton) Dr. Tyler Porter
Sharper (m. 1738, d. 1761)	Samuel Gott Daniel Gott
Susanna (d. 1761)	Lieut. William Dodge
Sylvie (act. 1778)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Tobijah (b. ca.1719, d. 1789)	Unknown
Venus (act. 1788–1795)	Unknown
Violet (bp. 1756)[L]	Skipper Dodge
Violet (act. 1788)[L]	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Wharfer (bp. 1737, own. 1759)	Capt. Thomas Tarbox
Name not recorded, boy (act. 1703)	Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) Richard Dodge 3rd (Hamilton)
Name not recorded, man (act. 1712–1726)	Walter Fairfield Freeborn Balch (Beverly)
Name not recorded, man (act. 1736)	Thomas Dodge
Name not recorded, man (act. 1739)	Barnabas Dodge (Hamilton) Josiah Dodge Jr.?

Enslaved Person	Enslaver(s)
Name not recorded, man (act. 1745)	Capt. John Baker
Name not recorded, person #1 (act. 1749–1751)	Rev. John Warren Elizabeth (Chipman) Warren
Name not recorded, person #2 (act. 1749–1751)	Rev. John Warren Elizabeth (Chipman) Warren
Name not recorded, man (act. 1752)	Samuel Gott Daniel Gott
Name not recorded, child (d. 1758)	John Dodge (1717–1779)
Name not recorded, child (d. 1758)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1759)	William Lofty
Name not recorded, child (d. 1762)	Richard Hubbard Dodge
Name not recorded, girl (d. 1763)	Benjamin Edwards 3rd
Name not recorded, child (d. 1764)	Abraham Kimball
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1769)	Peter Dodge
Name not recorded, child (d. 1769)	Dr. William Fairfield
Name not recorded, person (act. 1771)	Edward Waldren Jr.
Name not recorded, girl (act. 1771?–1778)[I]	Nathaniel Brown Jr.
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1772)	Nathan Brown
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1772)	Ebenezer Kimball
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1773)	Thomas Brown Jr.
Name not recorded, child (d. 1775)	Nathan Brown
Name not recorded, child (d. 1775)	Haffield White
Name not recorded, man (act. 1775)	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1777)	Nathaniel Brown Jr.
Name not recorded, child of Sylvie (act. 1778)	Lieut. Richard Dodge
Name not recorded, infant (d. 1779)	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Name not recorded, son of Archelaus (d. 1787)	Skipper Dodge?
Name not recorded, person (act. eighteenth century, perhaps as late as 1790)	Samuel Tarbox
Name not recorded, boy #1 (act. 1792)	Capt. Jacob Dodge
Name not recorded, boy #2 (act. 1792)	Capt. Jacob Dodge

How to read this graph: Each line represents an individual person and shows the year(s) when that person is known to have lived in Wenham. Although (per the previous table) there are multiple candidates for deduplication, this graph treats each candidate as a separate person.

APPENDIX B:
DATA


Events Pertaining to Enslaved People
Recorded by the Wenham Congregational Church
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
1723
1726
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1732
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1786
1789
1792

Baptisms, Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805)

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver(s)	Page & Item
1737	Primus Boorgillar	Mary (Porter) Cue	124 #84
1737	Wharfer	Capt. Thomas Tarbox	124 #88
1737	Pompey	Josiah Fairfield	124 #89
1738	Diannah	Mrs. Patch	123 #111
1738	Adam	Capt. Jacob Dodge	123 #112
1739	Phyllis	Josiah Dodge Jr.	122 #136
1739	Bilhah	Samuel Gott	122 #137
1741	Jean/Jenny Black	Josiah Dodge Jr.	119 #193
1742	Adam Black Jr.	Josiah Dodge Jr.	119 #200
1742	Manning	Lieut. Richard Dodge	118 #217
1742	Abijah	Lieut. Richard Dodge	118 #218
1743	Jack	Lieut. William Dodge	118 #221
1752	Pompey	Jonathan Porter	42 #40
1752	Abner	Samuel Gott Josiah White	42 #46
1754	Hazard	John Gott Jr.	44 #84
1754	Hampshire	John Gott Jr.	44 #85
1754	Dinah	John Gott Jr.	44 #86
1754	Caesar	John Gott Jr.	44 #87
1755	Nancy	Jonathan Porter	46 #132
1756	Violet	Skipper Dodge	46 #137
1757	Scipio	Jonathan Porter	47 #164
1759	Peter	Jonathan Porter	49 #195
1759	Flora	John Gott Jr. John Dodge (1717–1779)	49 #205
1760	Nancy 2nd	Lydia (Tyler) Porter	50 #226
1766	Caesar	Skipper Dodge	204 #345
1768	Phyllis	Joseph Cummings (Ipswich)	178 #397

Ownings of the Covenant, Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805)

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Page & Item
1737	Primus Boorgillar	Mary (Porter) Cue	55 #6
1737	Wharfer	Capt. Thomas Tarbox	55 #7
1737	Pompey	Josiah Fairfield	55 #8
1738	Sharper	Samuel Gott	55 #12
1738	Diannah	Mrs. Patch	55 #13
1738	Adam	Capt. Jacob Dodge	55 #14
1741	Jean/Jenny Black	Josiah Dodge Jr.	55 #19
1742	Manning	Lieut. Richard Dodge	55 #22
1742	Abijah	Lieut. Richard Dodge	55 #23
1743	Jack	Lieut. William Dodge	55 #24
1754	Hazard	John Gott Jr.	56 #17
1756	Violet	Skipper Dodge	56 #29
1757	Scipio	Jonathan Porter	57 #31

Admissions, Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805)

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Page & Item
1738	Diannah	Mrs. Patch	39 #100
1742	Primus Boorgillar	Mary (Porter) Cue	40 #131
1756	Hazard	John Gott Jr.	60 #22
1759	Wharfer	Capt. Thomas Tarbox	60 #43
1766	Phoebe	Skipper Dodge	61 #65

Weddings Performed by Ministers of the Wenham First Congregational Church

Year	Enslaved People	Enslaver(s)	Endnote
1744	Manning & Dinah	Lieut. Richard Dodge & Enslaver's name not recorded	[533]
1753	Scipio & Grace	Daniel Gott	[534]
1762	Archelaus & Phoebe	Capt. Jacob Dodge & Richard Hubbard Dodge	[535]

Deaths, Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1643–1805)

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Page & Item
1723	Caesar	Lieut. John Gott	93 #17
1723	Peter	Lieut. William Dodge	93 #30
1728	Jenny	Lieut. William Dodge	95 #77
1731	Pompey Black	Lieut. William Dodge	96 #112
1753	Name not recorded, infant	Wiliam Lofty	67 #89
1756	Hampshire	Skipper Dodge	69 #49
1757	Flora	Lieut. Richard Dodge	68 #57
1757	Nancy	Jonathan Porter	68 #67
1758	Name not recorded, child	John Dodge (1717–1779)	68 after #70
1758	Name not recorded, child	Lieut. Richard Dodge	68 after #70
1759	Lemmon	William Davison	67 #90
1759	Peter	Jonathan Porter	67 #98
1759	Lucy	Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810)	67 #104
1759	Caesar	Lieut. Richard Dodge	67 #108
1761	Susanna	Lieut. William Dodge	66 #121
1761	Sharper	Daniel Gott	66 #126
1763	Flora	Isaac Giddings Jr.	66 #135
1763	Name not recorded, girl	Benjamin Edwards 3rd	66 #137
1764	Name not recorded, child	Abraham Kimball	65 #144
1764	Deborah	Andrew Cole	65 #147
1765	Scipio	Lydia (Tyler) Porter	65 #153
1769	Name not recorded, infant	Peter Dodge	64 #179
1769	Name not recorded, child	Dr. William Fairfield	64 #180
1772	Jane	Dr. William Fairfield	63 #194
1772	Name not recorded, infant	Nathan Brown	63 #197
1772	Name not recorded, infant	Ebenezer Kimball	63 #200
1773	Name not recorded, Infant	Thomas Brown Jr.	63 #207
1773	Name not recorded (Caesar)	William Cleaves	202 #309

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Page & Item
1775	Name not recorded, child	Haffield White	202 #318
1775	Name not recorded, child	Nathan Brown	202 #319
1776	Lazarus	Nathaniel Brown Jr.	201 #329
1777	Primus	John Dodge (1717–1779)	201 #340
1777	Name not recorded, infant	Nathaniel Brown Jr.	201 #342
1778	Flora	Skipper Dodge	64 #188
1778	London	Sarah (White) Fairfield	194 #359
1779	Name not recorded, infant	Capt. Jacob Dodge	193 #373
1783	Sarah	Dr. Tyler Porter	188 #407
1784	Child of Scipio & Phoebe	none identified[536]	188 #506
1787	Son of Archelaus	Skipper Dodge?	180 #528
1788	Daughter of Scipio & Venus	none identified[537]	180 #343
1789	Tobijah	Unknown	179 #345
1789	Archelaus	Capt. Jacob Dodge	179 #347

Death, Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847)

Year	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Page
1795	Child of Scipio & Venus	none identified[538]	30

Assessed Values of Enslaved People, Essex County Probate

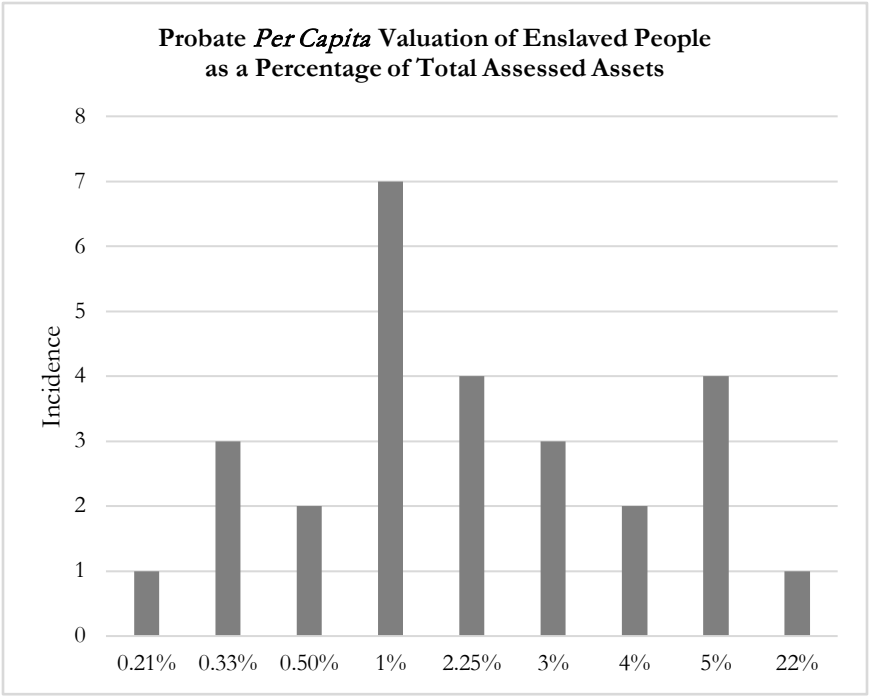
Year	Assessed Value £ : s : d	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Essex County Probate File
Enslaved Men				
1736	100:00:00	Name not recorded	Thomas Dodge	7988
1737	100:00:00	Primus Boorgillar	Robert Cue Jr.	6692
1745	47:10:00	Name not recorded	Capt. John Baker	1445
1752	26:16:08	Name not recorded (allocation)	Samuel Gott	11342
1752	26:16:08	Sharper (allocation)	Samuel Gott	11342
1758	5:06:08	Sharper	Daniel Gott	11323
1761	26:13:04	Abner	Josiah White	29607
1762	34:13:04	Hazard	John Gott Jr.	11332
1766	53:06:08	Caesar	Ens. Benjamin Kimball	15516
1778	40:00:00	Abner	Nathaniel Brown Jr.	3756
1778	20:00:00	Hampshire	Lieut. Richard Dodge	7956
Enslaved Women				
1761	16:00:00	Deborah	Josiah White	29607
1778	*	Sylvie	Lieut. Richard Dodge	7956
Enslaved Adults, Gender Not Specified				
1751	50:00:00	Name not recorded (allocation)	Rev. John Warren	28982
175	50:00:00	Name not recorded (allocation)	Rev. John Warren	28982
1758	43:06:08	Scipio (allocation)	Daniel Gott	11323
1758	43:06:08	Grace (allocation)	Daniel Gott	11323
1760	25:00:00	Scipio (allocation)	Jonathan Porter	22476
1760	25:00:00	Sarah (allocation)	Jonathan Porter	22476
Enslaved Boys				
1754	21:06:08	Name not recorded (Caesar)	Caleb Coy	6457
1758	8:00:00	Caesar	Daniel Gott	11323
1760	22:10:00	Caesar (allocation)	Jonathan Porter	22476
1760	22:10:00	Pompey (allocation)	Jonathan Porter	22476

Year	Assessed Value £ : s : d	Enslaved Person	Enslaver	Essex County Probate File
Enslaved Girls				
1758	1:10:00	Cate	Daniel Gott	11323
1766	28:00:00	Dinah	Ens. Benjamin Kimball	15516
1778	50:00:00	Name not recorded, "maid"	Nathaniel Brown Jr.	3756
Enslaved Children, Gender Not Specified				
1778	*	Name not recorded	Lieut. Richard Dodge	7956

* £30 for both individuals

Assessed Values of Enslaved People as a Percentage of Enslavers' Estate Assets, Essex County Probate[539]

# of Enslaved People	Assessed Value as % of Total Assessed Assets	Enslaver	Year	Essex County Probate File
1	<1%	Thomas Dodge	1736	7988
1	4%	Robert Cue Jr	1737	6692
1	3%	Capt. John Baker	1745	1445
1	22%[540]	Caleb Coy	1754	6457
1	4%	John Gott Jr.	1762	11332
2	10%	Rev. John Warren	1751	28982
2	2%	Samuel Gott	1752	11342
2	6%[541]	Josiah White	1761	29607
2	10%	Ens. Benjamin Kimball	1766	15516
2	1%	Nathaniel Brown Jr.	1778	3756
3	1%	Lieut. Richard Dodge	1778	7956
4	9%	Jonathan Porter	1760	22476
5	5%	Daniel Gott	1758	11323



In seven out of the 27 documented cases, the assessed value of an enslaved person represented 1% of the corresponding enslaver's total probated assets.

533 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 180).

534 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 86, #39.

535 Town of Wenham, MS (1700–1810), first section, unnumbered page (Ancestry.com, Wenham Births Marriages and Deaths, frame 196).

536 Likely born a free person of color.

537 Born a free person of color.

538 Likely born a free person of color.

539 Assets, not net worth. Research of Essex County deeds has been done to identify cases where an enslaver sold or gave real estate to family members that—if the sale/gift hadn't occurred—would otherwise have increased the enslaver's estate valuation. No such transactions, however, were found that would call for an adjustment of a given enslaver's probated assets.

540 In 1753 Coy sold a wood lot for £13 6*s* 8*d*. Essex County Deeds 101:23 (Caleb Coye [*sic*] to John More, 1753). If, hypothetically, that lot had been included in his estate then the enslaved person's valuation would have represented 19% of Coy's estate—which is still rather high when compared to other enslavers for whom we have similar data. But such an adjustment does not seem warranted because More was not a son-in-law of Coy and therefore this was not a case of intrafamily estate-planning asset transfer.

541 In 1759 White sold twelve acres of his Wenham farm to his sons for £80. Essex County Deeds 105:276 (Josiah White to Thomas and Haffield White, 1759). If, hypothetically, that lot had been included in his estate then the two enslaved people's valuation would have represented 6% of White's estate. But such an adjustment does not seem warranted because (1) Josiah White sold the property to his sons instead of giving it to them, and (2) the £80 proceeds could have been converted to a bond or a loan to a third party and therefore captured in the probate inventory's item for £575 19*s* 2*d* in "cash in bonds or notes of hand" and/or captured (in part) in the £25 8*s* 2*d* in "cash in the executor's hands." Essex County Probate 29607 (Josiah White, 1761), :7 Inventory (1761).

APPENDIX C:
"THE TWO TAVERNS"

In 1868 Wenham resident Allen Peabody (1816–1890) published this poem mentioning Pompey Porter (1752–1833) and telling us that Pompey played the fiddle in one of the town's taverns. The poem speaks of two taverns: one kept by Ezra Lummus (1795–1869) in the brick house at 188 Main Street and the other kept by John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851) that formerly stood at the corner of Main and Arbor Streets near the current-day site of the Veterans Memorial. The poem speaks of a controversy over the granting of a liquor license, which may have occurred in 1834 or 1835.[542]

The Two Taverns.

In those old times two taverns stood,
Both upon the public road;
Ezra Lummus kept the one,
And Richard Dodge[543] and old Squire Thome.
Richard Dodge sold rum, and dwelt
Where B. C. Putnam's house was built.
The well and pump is still in use,
Where man and beast may drink who choose.
Great improvements now have come,
Folks drink the water sans the rum;
But Ezra, farther up the town,
Where now the Essex road comes round,
The only dwelling built of brick, or
Where hay teamsters stopped to liquor;
Friend Ezra then kept grog for sale,
And thereby doth hang a tale.
For years and years, town meeting days

Were in excitement and amaze.
Full well do I remember how
The license question caused a row;
King Richard and King Alchohol [*sic*]
Kept tavern, and gave many a ball;
Where drunken rowdies met to prance,
Three cents for toddy, three for dance.
While Porter's Pompey trailed a reel,
And beat the measure with his heel,
Or Charley made his cat gut squeal.
Crazy Charley known to fame,
Charley Adams was his name.
Charley's history I'll pursue.
His final fate none ever knew;
A few years later there was found
In Topsfield river some one drowned;
By some 'twas thought that Adams had
In stupor, met his end so sad.
Luke! don't you remember Luke,
Fat, hearty, jolly, like a Duke?
I've seen him dance an hour long
At Richard's—'mong the boozy throng.
When Pomp, or fiddle stopped the tune,
Roll. like a cart wheel round the room;
Then swear and laugh, the jolly dog,
Three cents for music—six for grog.
The "we sma' " hours of the night ;
Found nearly all the party tight,
The moral people of the town,
On such proceedings used to frown.
The very rats, folks used to say,
For very fear would skulk away;
For several days those frightened souls,
Would hardly dare to leave their holes.
The rotten beams of Richard's den,
Were tested well by drunken men;
Richard himself, I've heard it said,

In his bar room since fell dead.
Squire Thorn! at home town meeting days,
His voice for license he would raise,
Shrill above the noisy crowd,
His voice was heard in accents loud.
Saying? "Paul met three taverns and was glad,"
(His education sure was bad.)
Acts 28th, 15th verse,[544]
Now read the text, where you of course
Will find, Paul *met* some friends and courage took,
This simple fact the Squire o'er looked.
Another "Old man eloquent,"
(Whose days on earth were nearly spent.)
This tumult, the Squire has raised the fuss,
'Minds me of Paul at Ephesus,
Whose preaching hurt the sale of gods,
The silversmiths deplored the odds.
Demetrius raised a hue and cry,
"Great is the god Diana."
The voters present saw the hit,
With loud huzzas applauded it;
"No license" was the vote they say,
And Dr. Killham[545] won the day.

542 A. Peabody (1868), 5-7.

For the site of the John Thorne Dodge tavern see Essex County Deeds 219:271 (Uzziel and Polly Dodge to John Thorn[e] Dodge Jr., 1818); 233:243 (John Thorn[e] Dodge Jr. to John Thorn[e] Dodge, mortgage, 1823); 235:46 (John T. Dodge Jr. to John T[horne] Dodge, 1824), first parcel and 248:148 (John T. Dodge to the Town of Wenham, mortgage, 1828). Cole (1943), 17, 99, photograph between 100-101, 120, 138, 139.

For the site the Ezra Lummus tavern see Cole (1943), 138.

For the 1834 and 1835 town meeting votes on whether to grant a liquor license see Town of Wenham (1977), 130, 132, 138. Other town meeting votes on the subject of temperance occurred, however, between 1825 and 1842. M. O. Allen (1860), 96. In 1834 the Wenham Congregational Church adopted regulations that prohibited the consumption of alcohol. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 5-6.

Of interest: in "Old Milan" at 28-29 Peabody writes of Milan, an African American man living in Danvers "fifty years ago."

543 Peabody included here the footnote: "This person's real name was John Thorn [*sic*] Dodge."

544 "And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii forum, and the three taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage."

545 Dr. Daniel Kilham 6th (1753–1841).

APPENDIX D:
1774 NEWSPAPER ARTICLE
REGARDING NATHANIEL BROWN JR.[546]

Henry Hobbs House resident Harriet B. Hobbs (1864–1944) wrote in 1935[547] that enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) was almost tarred and feathered during an incident near the start of the Revolution. The newspaper article below alludes to that incident (although there's no specific mention of an attempt at tarring-and-feathering) and describes a follow-up encounter. The text of the article is remarkably one-sided, and even misleading. Consider, for example, the use of the word "elopement" in the second paragraph—a euphemism for "escape" that was rendered in italics to convey sarcasm. Consider also that the article sets the scene at the "house" of Dr. Tyler Porter, without mentioning that Porter was an innkeeper. If one reads between the lines, one can imagine a bunch of men getting drunk at the inn and deciding to go across the street to confront Brown. In that vein, consider reading this article while substituting the word "mob" wherever the word "committee" appears, substituting "liquor" for "a treat" at the end of the article, and substituting "with a good buzz" for "in good humour" at the end of the article.

At a Meeting of twenty-one Persons (delegated by a large Body who convened at Wenham on Tuesday last) at the House of Dr. Tyler Porter in Wenham, on this 4th Day of October, 1774, to enquire into the Conduct of Nathaniel Brown, Esq; of that Town, he appeared, and after some Altercation, the following Articles of Charge were lexhibited [*sic*] to him; on which, at his Request, he was indolged [*sic*] one Hour's Time for Consideration: On his Return the following Charges were laid before him, viz.

TO NATHANAIL [*sic*] BROWN, Esq;

It is a Point given up, that from the general Tenor of your Conduct and Conversation, you are justly deserving the reproachful Character of a *Tory*; and as such, merit the highest Disgrace and Contempt so long as you cleave to and persist in Principles evidently tending to Slavery. From a strong Desire that the very being of an Opinion, so sordid and contemptible, may be totally eradicated from your Mind, a considerable Number from the adjacent Towns convened at Wenham on Tuesday last, for such a noble Design: but your *Elopement* prevented an Interview; upon which a Committee was chosen by that Body to wait on you this Day; and they being met, have taken under Consideration the many and dirty Reflections on the true Sons of Liberty, some of which, black as they are, we shall for once (though with great Reluctance) mention to you; and if you are not callous to all the Feelings of Humanity, and totally devoid of any Spark of Love to the Liberties of your Country, we expect voluntary Retraction, and such a Confession as will intitle [*sic*] you to the Forgiveness of your injured Fellow Countrymen. And that you may not be ignorant of the many Injuries received from you, we lay before you some of the many Charges they have against you.

1. At the Town-Meeting at Wenham, in May, 1773, you asserted, that our Charter-Rights were not infringed in the least by any of the late Acts of Parliament; and that the Town of Boston had plunged themselves into Difficulty by their Committee of Correspondence; and the other Towns who had adopted their Measures were sorry for it; and being queried with, "What Towns?" you said Topsfield had rejected it; which is *false*.

2. Your strenuous Opposition to raising Money for supporting the Expence [*sic*] of the General Congress, by reading the Governor's Proclamation at the Meeting, to dissuade the People from proceeding, it being (as you said) your Duty so to do as a Magistrate.

3. Your declaring that all the present Evils we now suffer were owing to the Town of Boston, and that you should be glad it was laid in Ashes.

4. Your declaring that Ministers and News-Papers were a publick [*sic*] Nuisance; and that a certain Minister preferred a Petition, requesting that of his Maker, which he never heard of, nor never would, had he not mentioned it, it being only this, that our Charter-Rights might be restored.

5. That the late Acts of Parliament were not in the least cruel or oppressive; and that if the People were not stupidly ignorant they would tamely submit thereto; and added, the Soldiers are arrived, you are intimidated, and Britain will gain the Day.

6. You asserted, that if Duties were laid upon any Articles imported into North-America from Great-Britain, fully equal to the Thing itself, it would be but right and just.

7. Your positive and bold Declaration, that wherever a Number of Whigs were convened, there was a Parcel of *Mobbish Fellows*.

8. That you forbid Capt. Jacob Dodge examining into the State of his Company, with Respect to their Arms & Ammunition.

9. Your saying, that the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq; John Adams, Esq; and Mr. Samuel Adams, were the Instigators of the whole of our Difficulties, who, with other Gentlemen, Members of the Continental Congress, merit Halters rather than a Reward.

These, Sir, are a few, among many Charges, the Publick [*sic*] have against you, and the Committee aforesaid expect you make a Confession of your Imprudencies [*sic*], ask Forgiveness of the Publick [*sic*], and publish the same to the World.

Wenham, October 4, 1774.

The Confession follows:

WHEREAS I the Subscriber have in many Instances offended my Fellow Countrymen, and justly merited their Displeasure in repeated Instances, as set forth in the Charges exhibited against me, more particularly by a Committee chosen by a respectable Body of Freeholders and others of this and the adjacent Towns, being regularly convened on the 27th Day of September last, to enquire into my Conduct; And whereas the said Committee exhibited divers Matters of Charges against me, all which I acknowledge, and am heartily sorry for, and humbly ask Forgiveness of the said Committee that appeared in Behalf of the before-mentioned Body, and all other Persons, the true Sons of Liberty, whom I have offended. I do promise for myself, that I utterly abhor and detest the late Acts of Parliament, as they do infringe on our Charter, and do promise for the future that I never will take any Commission under the new Administration of Government, nor act [*on*] *any Thing in Conformity thereto, and that I consent* [*that*] *the said Articles of Charge, together with this my Confession, shall be made publick* [*sic*]*, by being inserted in the publick Prints*[548]*; and hope thereby to be restored to the Favour* [*sic*] *and Friendship of my Fellow-Countrymen, & that my future Conduct may merit their Approbation.*

Wenham, Oct. 4, 1774. NATHANAEL [*sic*] BROWN.

After he had read the same, the Body voted it to be satisfactory to them; then he gave them a Treat, humbly thanked them for their kind, generous and gentleman-like Deportment to him, and then withdrew. ——After many loyal Toasts were drank, the Committee dispersed in good Humour [*sic*], every Thing being conducted with the greatest Regularity, and to the Satisfaction of the numerous Spectators.

A true Copy,

Attest, JOHN FRIEND, Clerk.

546 *The Essex Gazette*, Salem, October 11, 1774, 3.

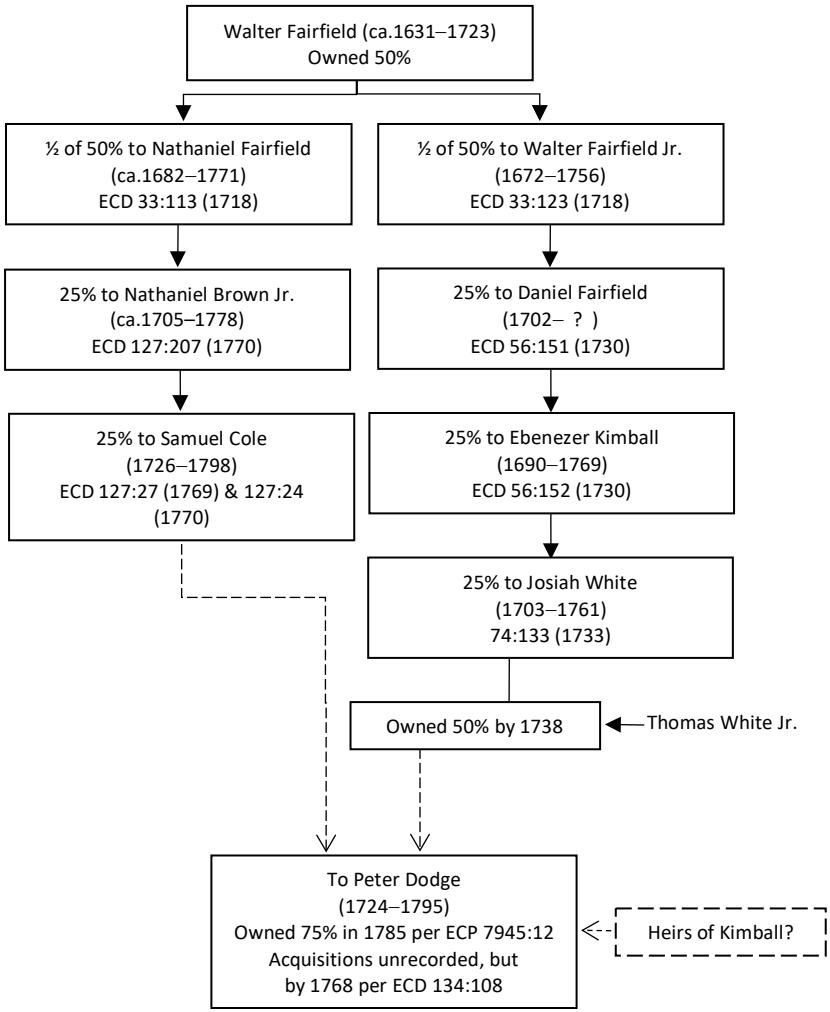
547 Cole (1943), 68. L. A. Dodge, MS (1944). Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #61311174.

548 Newspapers.

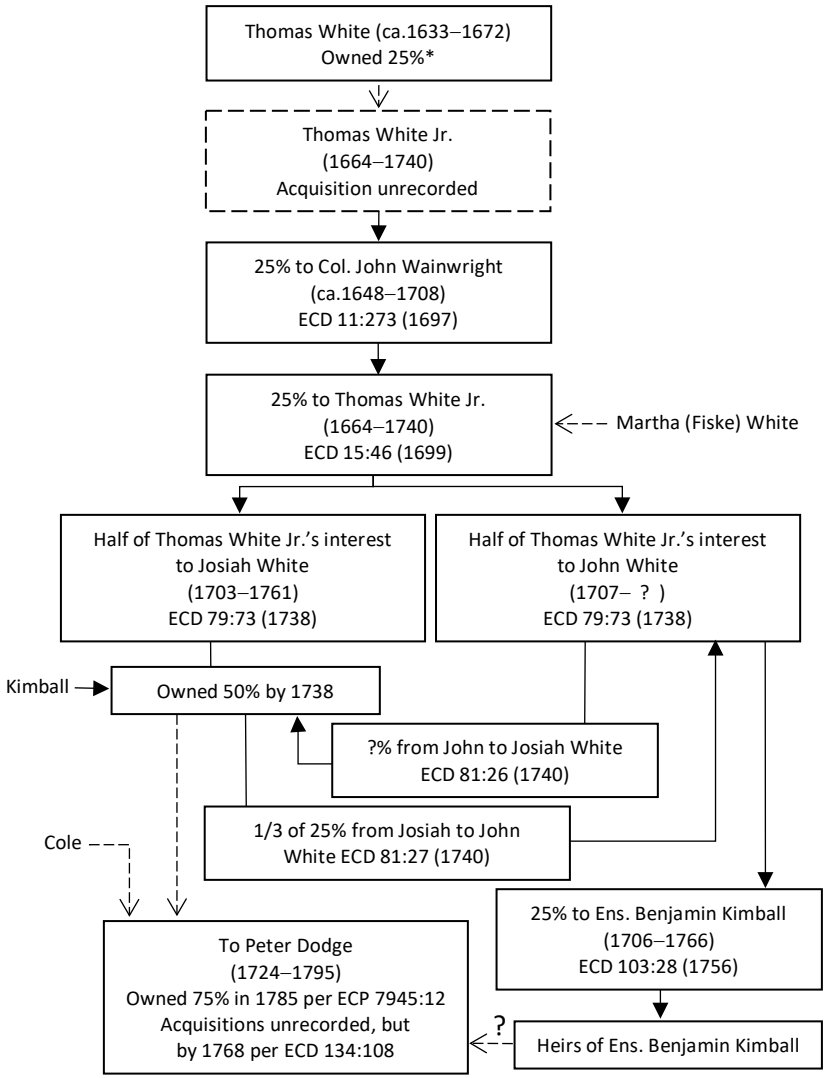
APPENDIX E:
OWNERSHIP OF THE WHITE'S MILL COMPLEX

In 1724 the owners of the sawmill, in anticipation of adding a gristmill, recorded Articles of Agreement with the town clerk.[549] That document, along with surviving deeds and probate, allows us to determine ownership of the complex from 1672 through approximately 1768, when Peter Dodge (1724–1795) acquired 75% ownership of the complex. *Asterisks and dashed lines are used in the following charts to identify data that is undocumented but can be deduced from those portions of the complex's ownership that* are *documented.*

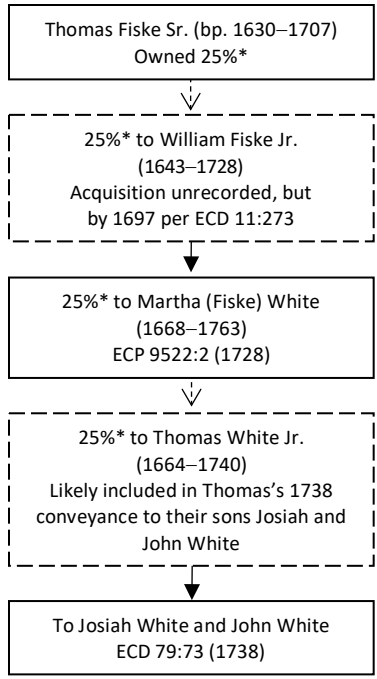
The disposition of 25% of the ownership of the complex—owned by Ens. Benjamin Kimball (1706–1766) when he died in 1766—has not been determined. It appears that Peter Dodge or his children acquired it at some point,[550] but Dodge didn't record his deeds when he acquired the first 75% and he didn't record his deed when (as suspected) he acquired the last 25%. Consequently, we can't say conclusively that Dodge acquired the last 25% directly from Kimball's heirs, or whether he acquired it from a third party who had bought it from the Kimballs.



Disposition of Walter Fairfield's 50% ownership interest.[551]



Disposition of Thomas White's 25% ownership interest.[552]



See prior page for disposition

Disposition of Thomas Fiske Sr.'s 25% ownership interest.[553]

549 Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 209-212.

550 Essex County Deeds 353:156 (Jonathan Dodge to Peter Dodge [Jr.], 1844). Essex County Deeds 134:108 (Benjamin Kimball [Jr.] et al. to John Lovering and John Lovering Jr., 1768) records the sale of most of Kimball's portfolio of real estate. Although one of the properties covered by the deed was "for the use of said mills," the deed does not specifically convey the mill complex itself.

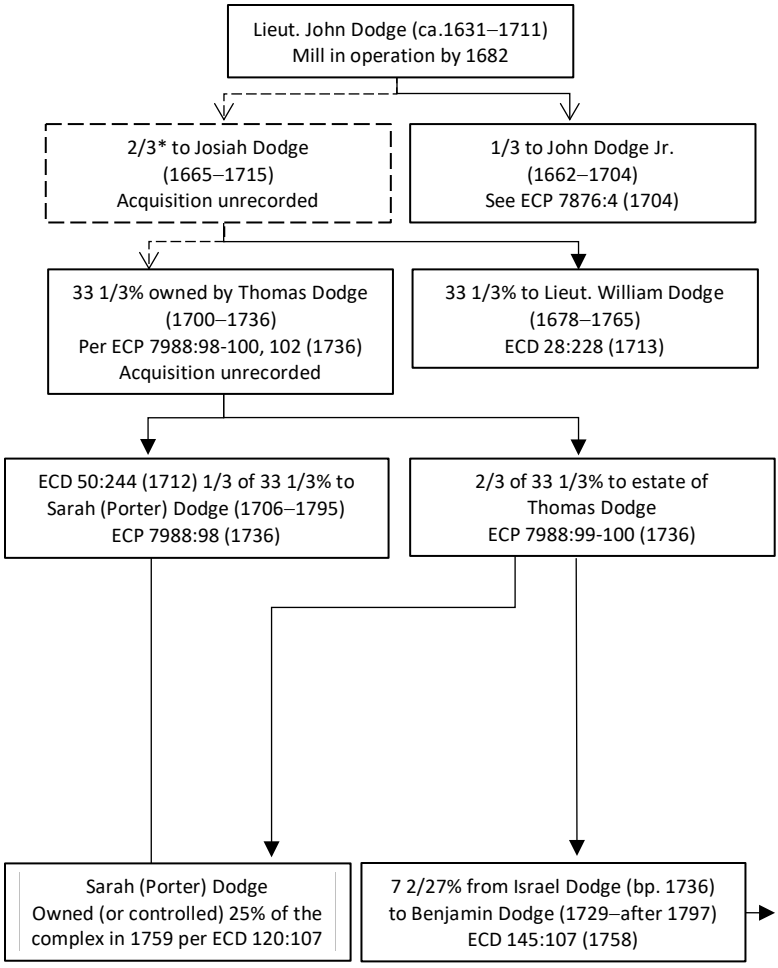
551 Essex County Deeds 33:113 (Walter Fairfield to Nathaniel Fairfield, 1718); 33:123 (Walter Fairfield to Walter Fairfield Jr., 1718); 56:151 (Walter [Jr.] and Judith Fairfield to Daniel Fairfield, 1730); 56:152 (Daniel and Remember Fairfield to Ebenezer Kimball, 1730); 74:133 (Ebenezer and Elizabeth Kimball to Josiah White, 1733); 127:27 (Nathaniel Fairfield to Samuel Cole, indenture, 1769); 127:24 (Samuel Cole *vs.* Nathaniel Fairfield, 1770); and 134:108 (Benjamin Kimball [Jr.] et al. to John Lovering and John Lovering Jr., 1768). Essex County Probate 7945 (Peter Dodge, 1795). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:55. Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:68. White (1900), 1:56-57. Essex Institute (1910), 1:131. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 209-212. Ganz (2013), 69, 122, 126. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #47723246.

552 Essex County Deeds 12:16 (division of property between Ruth White and Thomas White [Jr.], 1697); 11:273 (Thomas [Jr.] and Martha White to Col. John Wainwright, 1697); 15:46 (Col. John Wainwright to Thomas White [Jr.], 1699); 79:73 (Thomas White [Jr.] to Josiah and John White, 1737[/8]); 81:26 (John and Mary White to Josiah White, 1740); 81:27 (Josiah and Sarah White to John White, 1740); 103:28 (John and Elizabeth White to [Ens.] Benjamin Kimball, 1756); and 134:108 (Benjamin Kimball [Jr.] et al. to John Lovering and John Lovering Jr., 1768). Essex County Probate 7945 (Peter Dodge, 1795). Morrison and Sharples (1897), 1:113. White (1900), 1:18-19, 28-29, 56-57, 58. Essex Institute (1904), 225. Essex Institute (1910), 2:701. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 209-212.

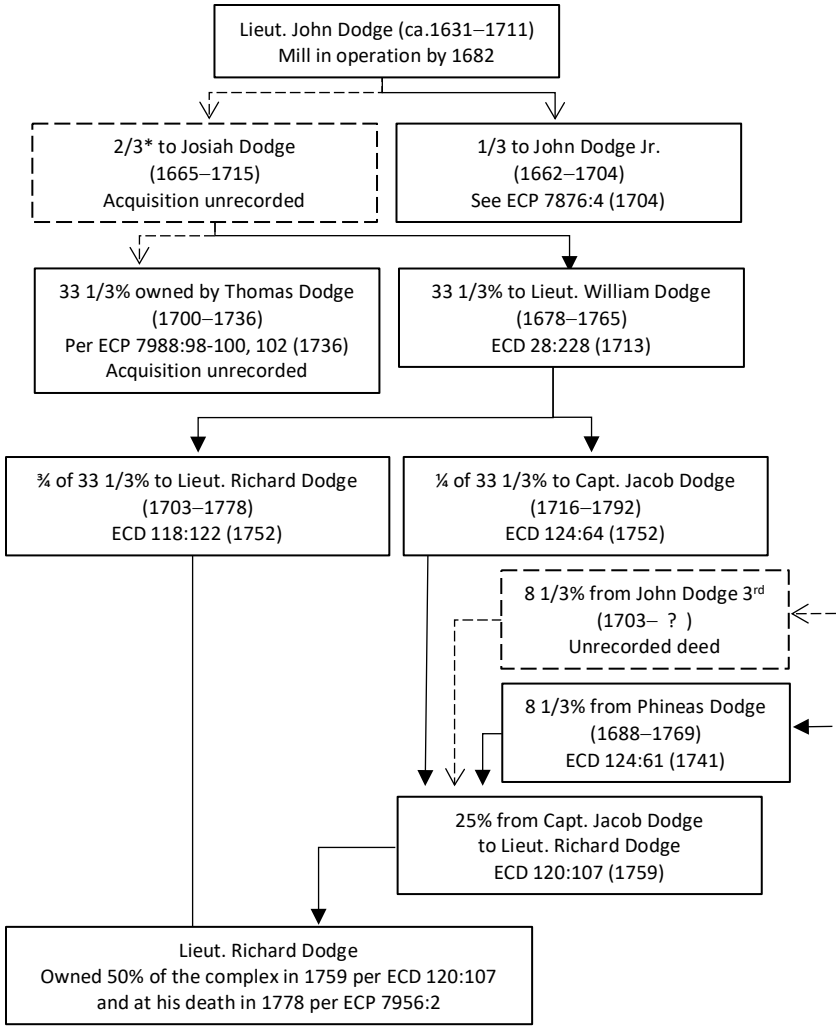
553 Essex County Deeds 11:273 (Thomas [Jr.] and Martha White to Col. John Wainwright, 1697); and 79:73 (Thomas White [Jr.] to Josiah and John White, 1737[/8]). Essex County Probate 9522 (William Fiske [Jr.], 1728). Pierce (1896), 64-65, 69. White (1900), 1:28-29. Wenham Historical Society, *1730–1775* (1940), 209-212.

APPENDIX F:
OWNERSHIP OF THE DODGE MILL COMPLEX

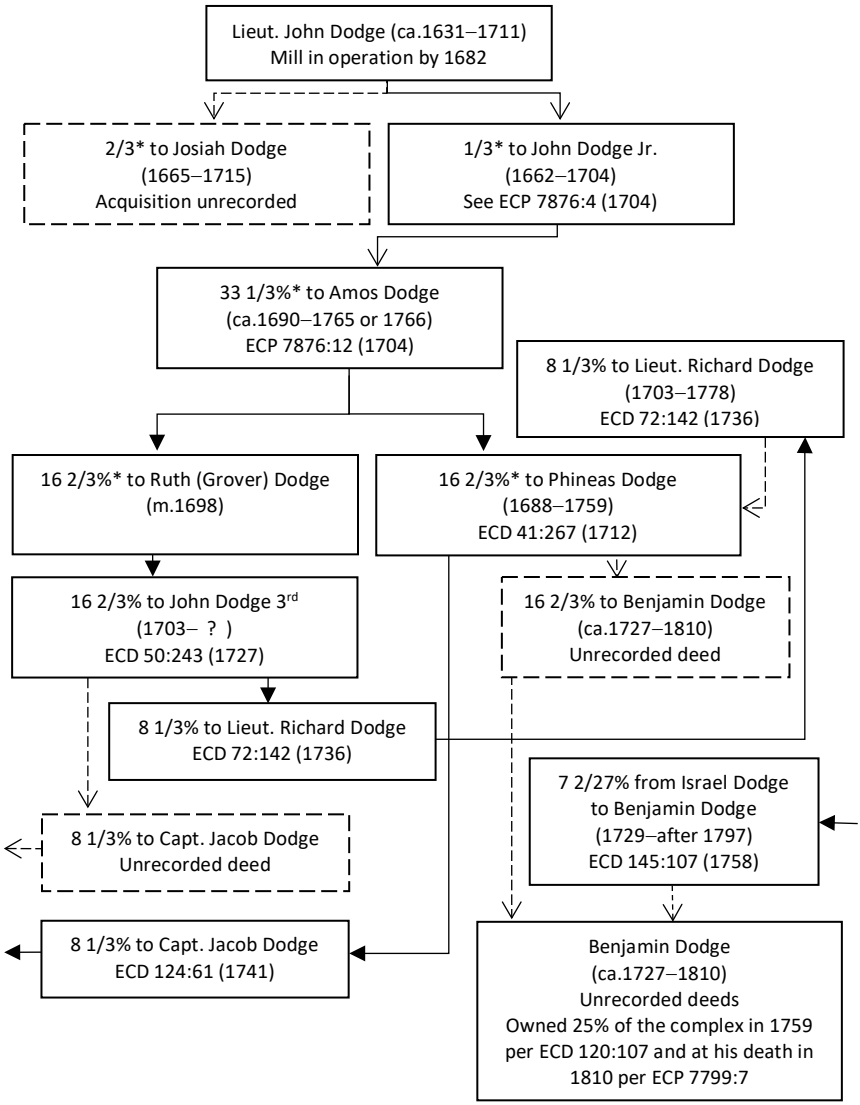
Ownership of the Dodge Mill Complex was complicated and changed hands multiple times. While most of the transfers of ownership were recorded with the Essex County Registry of Deeds, a few of the earliest transfers were not. Fortunately, a 1759 deed[554] clarifies the ownership at that time and allows us to work backwards to fill in the blanks. *Asterisks and dashed lines are used in the following charts to identify data that is undocumented but can be deduced from those portions of the complex's ownership that* are *documented.*


Lieut. John Dodge (ca.1631–1711)
Mill in operation by 1682
2/3* to Josiah Dodge
(1665–1715)
Acquisition unrecorded
1/3 to John Dodge Jr.
(1662–1704)
See ECP 7876:4 (1704)
33 1/3% owned by Thomas Dodge
(1700–1736)
Per ECP 7988:98-100, 102 (1736)
Acquisition unrecorded
33 1/3% to Lieut. William Dodge
(1678–1765)
ECD 28:228 (1713)
ECD 50:244 (1712) 1/3 of 33 1/3% to
Sarah (Porter) Dodge (1706–1795)
ECP 7988:98 (1736)
2/3 of 33 1/3% to estate of
Thomas Dodge
ECP 7988:99-100 (1736)
Sarah (Porter) Dodge
Owned (or controlled) 25% of the
complex in 1759 per ECD 120:107
7 2/27% from Israel Dodge (bp. 1736)
to Benjamin Dodge (1729–after 1797)
ECD 145:107 (1758)

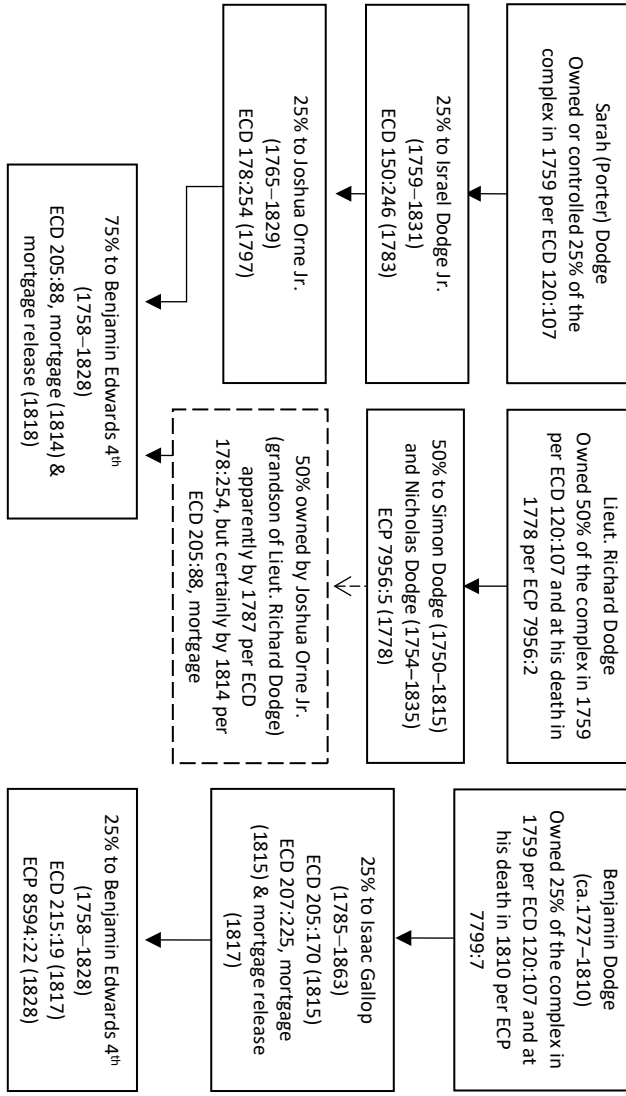
Disposition of Josiah Dodge's 2/3 ownership interest through 1759.[555]



Disposition of Josiah Dodge's 2/3 ownership interest through 1759, continued.[556]



Disposition of John Dodge Jr's 1/3 ownership interest through 1759.[557]


Sarah (Porter) Dodge
Owned or controlled 25% of the complex in 1759 per ECD 120:107
25% to Israel Dodge Jr.
(1759–1831)
ECD 150:246 (1783)
25% to Joshua Orne Jr.
(1765–1829)
ECD 178:254 (1797)
75% to Benjamin Edwards 4th
(1758–1828)
ECD 205:88, mortgage (1814) &
mortgage release (1818)
Lieut. Richard Dodge
Owned 50% of the complex in 1759 per ECD 120:107 and at his death in 1778 per ECP 7956:2
50% to Simon Dodge (1750–1815) and Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835)
ECP 7956:5 (1778)
50% owned by Joshua Orne Jr. (grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge) apparently by 1787 per ECD 178:254, but certainly by 1814 per ECD 205:88, mortgage
Benjamin Dodge
(ca.1727–1810)
Owned 25% of the complex in 1759 per ECD 120:107 and at his death in 1810 per ECP 7799:7
25% to Isaac Gallop
(1785–1863)
ECD 205:170 (1815)
ECD 207:225, mortgage (1815) & mortgage release (1817)
25% to Benjamin Edwards 4th
(1758–1828)
ECD 215:19 (1817)
ECP 8594:22 (1828)

Disposition after 1759.[558]

554 Essex County Deeds 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759).

555 Essex County Deeds 28:228 (Josiah and Sarah Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1713); 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759); and 145:107 (Israel and Abigail Dodge to Benjamin Dodge, 1758). Essex County Probate 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:21, 34, 35, 41, 60, 62, 70-71. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60948284.

556 Essex County Deeds 28:228 (Josiah and Sarah Dodge to [Lieut.] William Dodge, 1713); 118:122 [Lieut.] William Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1752), fifth parcel; 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759); 124:61 (Phineas Dodge et al. to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1741); and 124:64 ([Lieut.] William Dodge to [Capt.] Jacob Dodge, 1752), third parcel. Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778); and 7988 (Thomas Dodge, 1736). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:21, 34, 35, 41, 59, 62, 70, 73.

557 Essex County Probate 7876 (John Dodge Jr., 1704). Essex County Deeds 41:267 (Amos Dodge to Phineas Dodge, 1712); 50:244 (Amos Dodge to Ruth Dodge, 1712); 50:243 (Ruth Dodge to John Dodge, 1727); 72:142 (John [3rd] and Hannah Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1736); and 120:107 ([Capt.] Jacob and Elizabeth Dodge to [Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1759). Essex County Probate 7799 (Benjamin Dodge, 1810). Dodge J. T. (1894), 1:21, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62. White (1900), 1:49. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60948284.

558 Essex County Probate 7956 ([Lieut.] Richard Dodge, 1778), :5 Will (1778). Essex County Deeds 150:246 (Sarah Dodge to Israel Dodge [Jr.], 1783); 178:254 (Israel [Jr.] and Abigail Dodge to Joshua Orne [Jr.], 1797); 205:88 (Joshua Orne [Jr.] to Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1814); 205:170 (Mehitable Dodge et al. to Isaac Gallop, 1815); 205:225 (Isaac Gallop to Benjamin Edwards [4th], mortgage, 1815); 207:225 (Isaac Gallop to Benjamin Edwards [4th], mortgage, 1815); and 215:19 (Isaac and Annis Gallop to Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1817). Essex County Probate 8594 (Benjamin Edwards [4th], 1828). Essex Institute (1904), 65, 110, 150, 214. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #30855935, 60906179, 186912895 and 194892077.

Joshua Orne Sr. (d.1784)—and later Joshua Orne Jr.—owned a tan yard that abutted the mill complex. Essex County Deeds 111:232 (Skipper Dodge to Joshua Orne, 1764); and 178:254 (William Orne et al. to Joshua Orne [Jr.], 1796. Essex County Probate 20081:8.

APPENDIX G:
1889 NEWSPAPER ARTICLE
REGARDING PHYLLIS (BRYANT) FREEMAN

The following article and poem are from the October 25, 1889 edition of the *Salem Gazette*, written by Wenham Neck resident John W. Curtis (1835–1908).[559] The article refers to stories told to Curtis by the formerly enslaved Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman (ca.1770–1859). At the very end of the article he refers to "my early childhood," which indicates that he heard these stories in the late 1830s or 1840s. He recounts how Phyllis told him of an attempted escape and capture of an enslaved man (probably Hazard, in the Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) household, discussed on pages 181-184), and showed him the site of multiple graves of enslaved people. In addition, the article and poem provide an interesting (if verbose) example of a Victorian-period romanticized view of enslavement, the readers of which would have included members of Wenham Neck enslavers' families.

BOYHOOD'S MEMORIES
OF MILES RIVER, WENHAM
[Written for the Salem Gazette.][560]

Not of the far off haughty Guadalaquiver [*sic*],[561]
Tune I my harp, a gleeful lay, to sing,
But of our unobtrusive, scarcely known, *Miles*
River,
And the fair scenes of life's resplendent spring.

Between the proem[562] and the modest ballad that follows perhaps a few explanatory words here inserted would not be altogether inapplicable. Doubtless, every resident of Essex county [*sic*] is aware that our pretty rural town can boast of one humble river, styled "The

Miles," having its source at the foot of Bald Hill in the wooded pastures of Montserrat, and probably deriving its name from its continuous stretches and windings through the green meadows of East Wenham, Wenham Neck, and the adjoining towns of Hamilton and Ipswich, at which latter place it becomes a tributary of old Agawam river [*sic*],[563] later flowing and swelling its tide, a short way beyond the boundary line separating the two towns.

This unostentatious river, midway in its course, flows in a shady ravine very near the home of my childhood, almost laving[564] the very doorstep of the dwelling where once resided old Mrs. Freeman, the "Aunt Phyllis" of my little poem. This good, black woman acquainted me with the fact (of which peradventure some may not be cognizant) that once on a time the charming pastoral town of Wenham suffered its fair escutcheon to be tarnished with the odious blot of American slavery. Aunt Phyllis herself and all of her ancestry, she assured me, had been slaves at Wenham Neck, and many a narrative she related of the privations and sufferings experienced by them during those dark annals of the town. One of these was ineffaceably fixed in my memory. It related to a certain servant, who, tiring of thraldom,[565] very naturally ran away from abuse and unrecompensed labor. But he was overtaken in Manchester woods [*sic*] and securely bound with pinioned arms to the tail board of his captor's wagon, and compelled, with bare feet, to trot along the dusty highway at a speed commensurate with that of the steed that homeward drew the conquering master and dragged along the vanquished slave. Arriving at the "Neck" he was severely whipped, sent to his quarters supperless and otherwise punished; savoring slightly (to say the least) of southern cruelty and barbarism. She also pointed out to me the place of their burial on the hill side [*sic*] in the rear of an old barn now standing on the farm belonging to the heirs of the late Maj. Andrew Dodge. In the days of my early childhood the mounded outlines of these graves were plainly discernible.

The murmuring monotone of this romantic stream has awakened within me pleasant recollections of the past, which are interwoven in the following unpretending lines:—

I.

In a sequestered vale there floweth
A purling,[566] meandering stream
That stealthily hides in the shady glen,
From the day's o'erpowering beam.
The alder, the ash, the silv'ry birch,
And the succulent willow tree,
Their swaying branches over the flood
Wave slowly and tremulously.

II.

Over moss grown rocks wildly rippling,
(The rocks, of the old ruined mill),
In haste to arrive at Ipswich town,
With an eager impetuous will
It dashes on, through the meadows beyond,
Swiftly drifting, close by the door
Of the former abode of Aunt Phyllis,
So well known in the days of yore.

III.

O'er the life of this aged negress
Stole a charm of resistless grace,
And a wonderful smile enlivened
Her be-wrinkled and ebon face;
As with many school boys I listened
To sad tales of the olden time,
When black men were held in bondage here,
Their liberties forced to resign.

IV.

Oh shameful! that townsmen of old should taint
Fair Enon's shield with serfdom's stain;
That in her borders the slave once toiled
All unrequited, gives me pain
For, of servitude's hour of darkness
Sad complaints I've heard, o'er and o'er,
From the quav'ring lips of Aunt Phyllis,
When within her lowly door.

V.

Oh! for many a long weary year
Old Aunt Phyllis dwelt there alone,
With her spinning wheel and her kittens,
Crouching closely round the warm hearth-stone
And for many a wearisome year,
With voice, as weird as e'er it has known,

'Mongst[567] its sombre shadows, and rocks of grey
The streamlet on has rapidly flown.

VI.

River of Enon! thy silv'ry flow
Brightly illumes sweet Willow Dell;
A mystic language thou breathest forth
Which my heart comprehendeth right well,
List'ning, a boy beside thee I seem
Once again, in that winsome place,
And visions fair of departed days
Unfold to my enraptured gaze.

J. W. C.

Wenham, Oct. 16th, 1889.

ꕥ ꕥ ꕥ

The following text is from an undated, unsigned typewritten transcription of much of Curtis's article that is in the collection of the Wenham Museum. The transcription is appended with a biographical note about Curtis that mentions his mother Lydia C. (Dodge) Curtis (1810–1894), grandfather Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857) and wife Abbie S. (Spiller) Curtis (1844–1937). The Curtises lived at 211 Larch Row in the house that was built on the site of the Jonathan Hobbs House, discussed on pages 180-186. The Spillers lived on the east side of Dodges Row to the south of Longham Brook.[568]

From "Boyhood's Memories"
(Written for Salem Gazette – Oct. 16, 1889.)
by
John W. Curtis

"Aunt Phyllis" (Mrs. Freeman) an aged negro, lived in a house on the banks of Longham, near the bridge on Dodge's Row.

"Oh, for many a long weary year
Old Aunt Phyllis dwelt there along
With her spinning wheel and her kittens
Crouching closely around the warm hearth-stone."

This good black woman acquainted me with the fact (of which peradventure some may not be cognizant) that once on a time the charming pastoral town of Wenham suffered its fair escutcheon to

be tarnished with the odious blot of American slavery. Aunt Phyllis herself and all of her ancestry, she assured me, had been slaves at Wenham Neck, and many a narrative she related of the privations and sufferings experienced by them during those dark annals of the town. One of these was ineffaceably fixed in my memory. It related to a certain servant, who, tiring of thraldom [*sic*], very naturally ran away from abuse and unrecompensed labor. But he was overtaken in Manchester woods and securely bound with pinioned arms to the tail board of his captor's wagon, and compelled, with bare feet, to trot along the dusty highway at a speed commensurate with that of the steed that homeward drew the conquering master and dragged along the vanquished slave. Arriving at the "Neck" he was severely whipped, sent to his quarters supperless and otherwise punished; savoring slightly (to say the least) of southern cruelty and barbarism. She also pointed out to me the place of their burial on the hillside in the rear of an old barn now standing on the farm belonging to the heirs of the late Maj. Andrew Dodge. In the days of my early childhood the mounded outlines of these graves were plainly discernible.

Note:

John W. Curtis come [*sic*] to Wenham as a lad, shen [*sic*] his father married Lydia C. Dodge, daughter of Nicholas. He married Abbie S. Spillar [*sic*] whose family lived on the other side of the bridge, opposite "Aunt Phyllis" house (torn down) when land taken by Salem. He was postmaster for several years, keeping the Union Store, occupied by Trowt Bros. He moved to Manchester, N. H., later returning to Wenham, where he died.

way beyond the boundary line separating the two towns.

This unostentatious river, midway in its course, flows in a shady ravine very near the home of my childhood, almost laving the very door step of the dwelling where once resided old Mrs. Freeman, the "Aunt Phyllis" of my little poem. This good, black woman acquainted me with the fact (of which peradventure some may not be cognizant) that once on a time the charming pastoral town of Wenham suffered its fair escutcheon to be tarnished with the odious blot of American slavery. Aunt Phyllis herself and all of her ancestry, she assured me, had been slaves at Wenham Neck, and many a narrative she related of the privations and sufferings experienced by them during those dark annals of the town. One of these was ineffaceably fixed in my memory. It related to a certain servant, who, tiring of thraldom, very naturally ran away from abuse and unrecompensed labor. But he was overtaken in Manchester woods and securely bound with pinioned arms to the tail board of his captor's wagon, and compelled, with bared feet, to trot along the dusty highway at a speed commensurate with that of the steed that homeward drew the conquering master and dragged along the vanquished slave. Arriving at the "Neck" he was severely whipped, sent to his quarters supperless and otherwise punished; savoring slightly (to say the least) of southern cruelty and barbarism. She also pointed out to me the place of their burial on the hill side in the rear of an old barn now standing on the farm belonging to the heirs of the late Maj. Andrew Dodge. In the days of my early childhood the mounded outlines of these graves were plainly discernible.

The murmuring monotone of this romantic stream has awakened within me pleasant

"Boyhood's Memories of Miles River, Wenham." Detail.[569]

559 Curtis (1889), 1.

560 Square brackets appear in the newspaper's typesetting of the article.

561 The Gaudalquivir, a river in Spain.

562 "Proem" is a word that has fallen out of common usage that means a preface or a preamble.

563 Ipswich River. Note that when Curtis talks of the river winding through East Wenham and Wenham Neck, he is talking of Longham Brook.

564 "Laving" is a word that has fallen out of common usage that means washing.

565 "Thraldom" is a word that has fallen out of common usage that means enslavement.

566 "Purling" is a word that has fallen out of common usage that refers to the flowing of water with a murmuring sound.

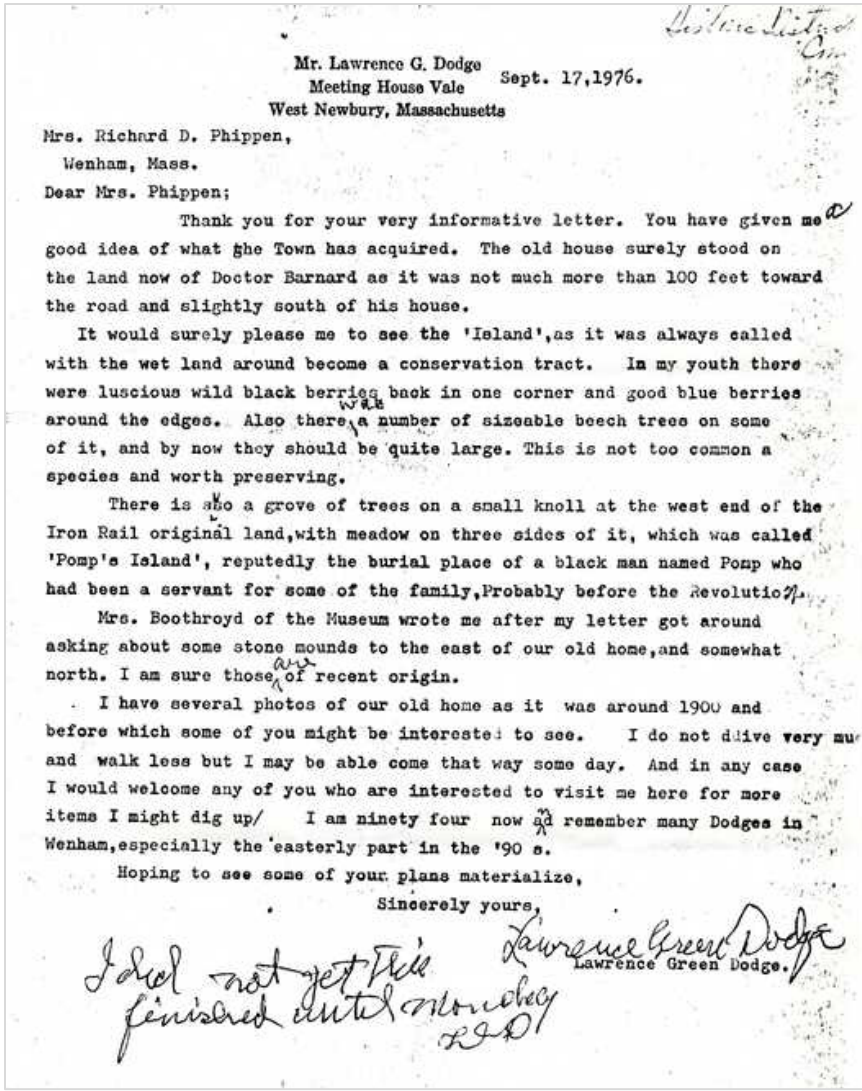
567 Amongst.

568 Curtis (1889, later transcription). See also Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 99-100. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:177; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #55657976, 55658007, 60940383, 105312723 and 130303806. For the Curtises' residence at 211 Larch Row, see the title history of the Jonathan Hobbs House property at endnote 369. For the Spillers' residence see Walling (1856), "B. F. Spiller" House; Beers (1872), 95, "Mrs. Spiller" House; Walker (1884), "Mrs. Spiller" House; and Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 100.

569 Curtis (1889), 1. The poem appears at the top of the next column of the newspaper page.

APPENDIX H:
POMPEY'S ISLAND

In 1976 Lawrence G. Dodge (1882–1978) wrote the following letter to Mrs. Richard D. Phippen (1927–2015)—who with her husband owned the western portion of Dodge's Island—concerning the site of the Lieut. William Dodge House on Rubbly Road, Dodge's Island and Pompey's Island.[570]



Historic Listed

Mr. Lawrence G. Dodge
Meeting House Vale
West Newbury, Massachusetts

Sept. 17,1976.

Mrs. Richard D. Phippen,
Wenham, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Phippen;

Thank you for your very informative letter. You have given me a good idea of what the Town has acquired. The old house surely stood on the land now of Doctor Barnard as it was not much more than 100 feet toward the road and slightly south of his house.

It would surely please me to see the 'Island',as it was always called with the wet land around become a conservation tract. In my youth there were luscious wild black berries back in one corner and good blue berries around the edges. Also there was a number of sizeable beech trees on some of it, and by now they should be quite large. This is not too common a species and worth preserving.

There is also a grove of trees on a small knoll at the west end of the Iron Rail original land,with meadow on three sides of it, which was called 'Pomp's Island', reputedly the burial place of a black man named Pomp who had been a servant for some of the family,Probably before the Revolution.

Mrs. Boothroyd of the Museum wrote me after my letter got around asking about some stone mounds to the east of our old home,and somewhat north. I am sure those are of recent origin.

I have several photos of our old home as it was around 1900 and before which some of you might be interested to see. I do not drive very much and walk less but I may be able come that way some day. And in any case I would welcome any of you who are interested to visit me here for more items I might dig up/ I am ninety four now and remember many Dodges in Wenham,especially the easterly part in the '90 s.

Hoping to see some of your plans materialize,

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Green Dodge

Lawrence Green Dodge.

Ideal not get this finished until Monday
RDP

570 L. G. Dodge (1976). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2014.277r.

Lawrence G. Dodge (1882–1978) was born in Wenham, the son of Robert Francis "Frank" Dodge (1829–1901), who lived in the John Thorne Dodge House (on the former site of the Lieut. William Dodge House) as early as 1856 (Walling) and as late as 1884 (Walker). United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1910:468:7. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60392367. Lawrence appears in an 1895 photograph of the John Thorne Dodge house (B. H. Conant Collection, Plate #01032), shown on page 207.

For recipient of the letter Susanne "Snooky" (LaCroix) Phippen (1927–2015) see "Susanne Phippen" (2015); Castelluccio (2019); and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #16945-8479. For the Phippens' residence at Hurdle Hill Farm, 253 Larch Row see Essex County Deeds Plan 280:60 ("Compiled Plan of Land in Wenham, MA," 1992) and 308:86 ("Plan of Land in Wenham, MA," 1996); and Essex County Deeds 13634:186 (Henry P. Phippen and Nicholas A. Grace, trustees, to Anne Ward Phippen, 1996).

APPENDIX I:
WENHAM'S ABOLITIONISTS IN THE 1830S

The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society

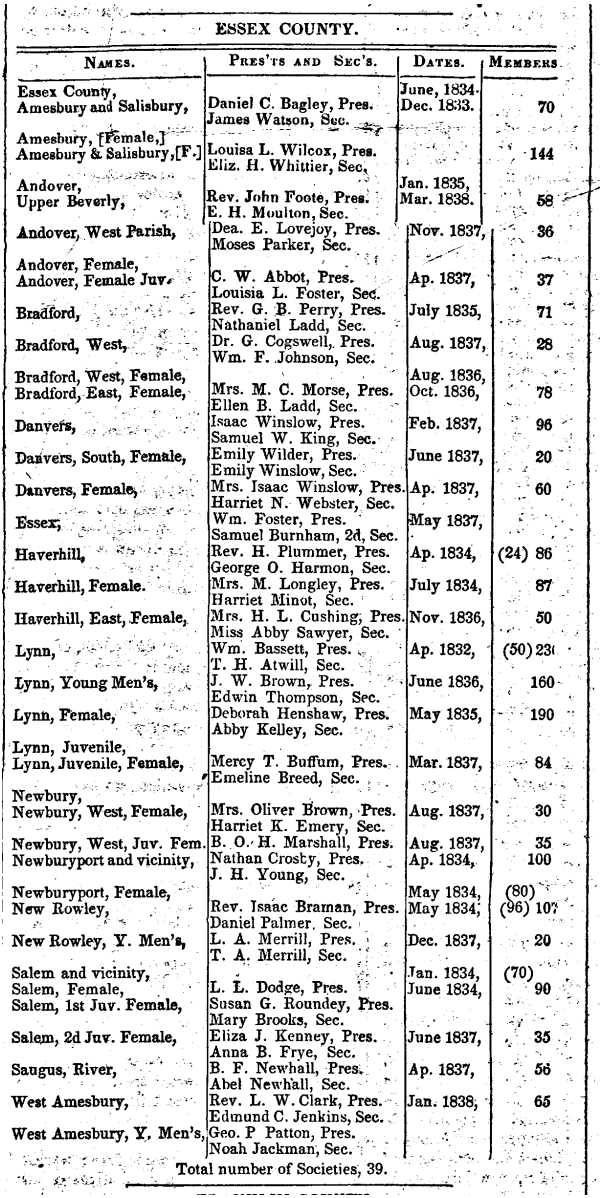
Abolitionism found its momentum in Essex County in the 1830s following the founding of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Boston in 1831. The Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity was formed in 1834, the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Topsfield the same year, the Danvers Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1837, and the Anti-Slavery Society of Ipswich was formed in 1838. Indeed, in 1838 the abolitionist newspaper the *Liberator* published a list of 39 anti-slavery societies that were operating in Essex County.[571]

In 1834 Wenham's Israel D. Barnes (1811–1844), Jacob Dodge (1787–1869), Richard Dodge (1803–1850) and Wenham Baptist Church minister Rev. Charles Miller (1833–1835 tenure) joined the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity.[572] Wenham formed its own anti-slavery society at the end of 1838, choosing Jacob Dodge (who was a grandson of enslaver Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792)) as its president.[573] The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society met "one or two" times before dissolving, but then reorganized itself in March 1839, choosing Wenham Baptist Church minister Rev. Joel Kenney (1838–1840 tenure) for its president, Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875) its vice president, and Adoniram J. Dodge (1808–1889) its secretary and treasurer.[574]

The records of the society have yet to be found,[575] and therefore we have a limited view of their activities. We do know, however, that the society hosted the quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society in March 1839.

> The quarterly meeting of the Essex Co. A. S. Society was held at the Bap[tist] Church in Wenham, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 13th and 14th of March. About 120 persons were present from 17 towns.

Continued on p. 322

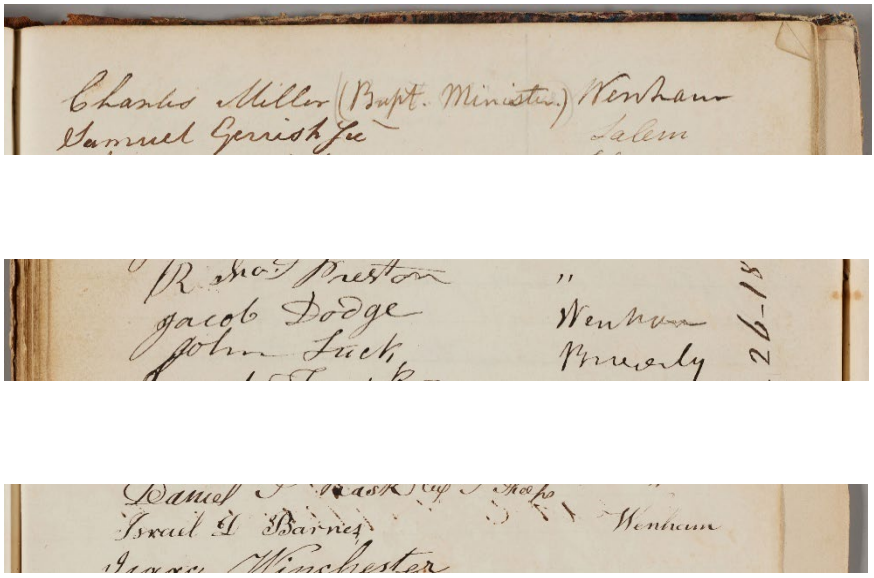


ESSEX COUNTY.

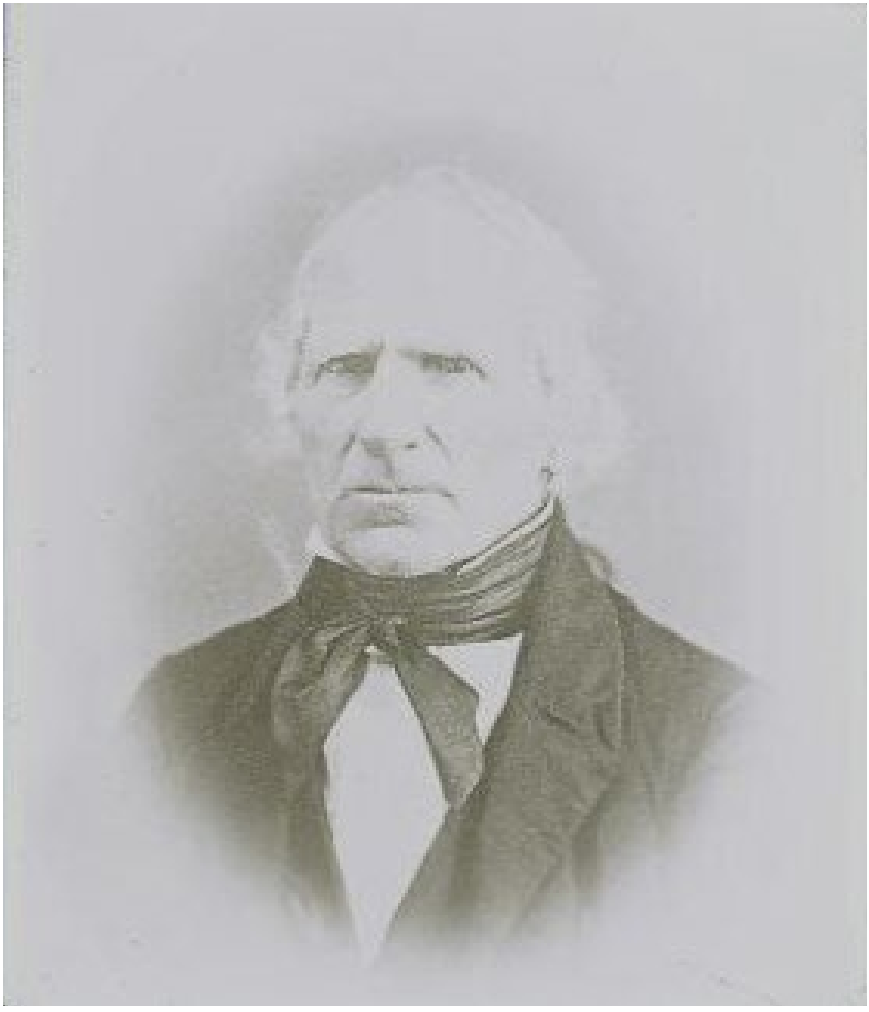
NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Essex County,		June, 1834.	
Amesbury and Salisbury,	Daniel C. Bagley, Pres. James Watson, Sec.	Dec. 1833.	70
Amesbury, [Female,]			
Amesbury & Salisbury,[F.]	Louisa L. Wilcox, Pres. Eliz. H. Whittier, Sec.		144
Andover,		Jan. 1835,	
Upper Beverly,	Rev. John Foote, Pres. E. H. Moulton, Sec.	Mar. 1838.	58
Andover, West Parish,	Dea. E. Lovejoy, Pres. Moses Parker, Sec.	Nov. 1837,	36
Andover, Female,			
Andover, Female Juv.	C. W. Abbot, Pres. Louisia L. Foster, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	37
Bradford,	Rev. G. B. Perry, Pres. Nathaniel Ladd, Sec.	July 1835,	71
Bradford, West,	Dr. G. Cogswell, Pres. Wm. F. Johnson, Sec.	Aug. 1837,	28
Bradford, West, Female,		Aug. 1836,	
Bradford, East, Female,	Mrs. M. C. Morse, Pres. Ellen B. Ladd, Sec.	Oct. 1836,	78
Danvers,	Isaac Winslow, Pres. Samuel W. King, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	96
Danvers, South, Female,	Emily Wilder, Pres. Emily Winslow, Sec.	June 1837,	20
Danvers, Female,	Mrs. Isaac Winslow, Pres. Harriet N. Webster, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	60
Essex,	Wm. Foster, Pres. Samuel Burnham, 2d, Sec.	May 1837,	
Haverhill,	Rev. H. Plummer, Pres. George O. Harmon, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	(24) 86
Haverhill, Female.	Mrs. M. Longley, Pres. Harriet Minot, Sec.	July 1834,	87
Haverhill, East, Female,	Mrs. H. L. Cushing, Pres. Miss Abby Sawyer, Sec.	Nov. 1836,	50
Lynn,	Wm. Bassett, Pres. T. H. Atwill, Sec.	Ap. 1832,	(50) 23(
Lynn, Young Men's,	J. W. Brown, Pres. Edwin Thompson, Sec.	June 1836,	160
Lynn, Female,	Deborah Henshaw, Pres. Abby Kelley, Sec.	May 1835,	190
Lynn, Juvenile,			
Lynn, Juvenile, Female,	Mercy T. Buffum, Pres. Emeline Breed, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	84
Newbury,			
Newbury, West, Female,	Mrs. Oliver Brown, Pres. Harriet K. Emery, Sec.	Aug. 1837,	30
Newbury, West, Juv. Fem.	B. O. H. Marshall, Pres.	Aug. 1837,	35
Newburyport and vicinity,	Nathan Crosby, Pres. J. H. Young, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	100
Newburyport, Female,		May 1834,	(80)
New Rowley,	Rev. Isaac Braman, Pres. Daniel Palmer, Sec.	May 1834,	(96) 107
New Rowley, Y. Men's,	L. A. Merrill, Pres. T. A. Merrill, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	20
Salem and vicinity,		Jan. 1834,	(70)
Salem, Female,	L. L. Dodge, Pres.	June 1834,	90
Salem, 1st Juv. Female,	Susan G. Roundey, Pres. Mary Brooks, Sec.		
Salem, 2d Juv. Female,	Eliza J. Kenney, Pres. Anna B. Frye, Sec.	June 1837,	35
Saugus, River,	B. F. Newhall, Pres. Abel Newhall, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	56
West Amesbury,	Rev. L. W. Clark, Pres. Edmund C. Jenkins, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	65
West Amesbury, Y. Men's,	Geo. P Patton, Pres. Noah Jackman, Sec.		

Total number of Societies, 39.

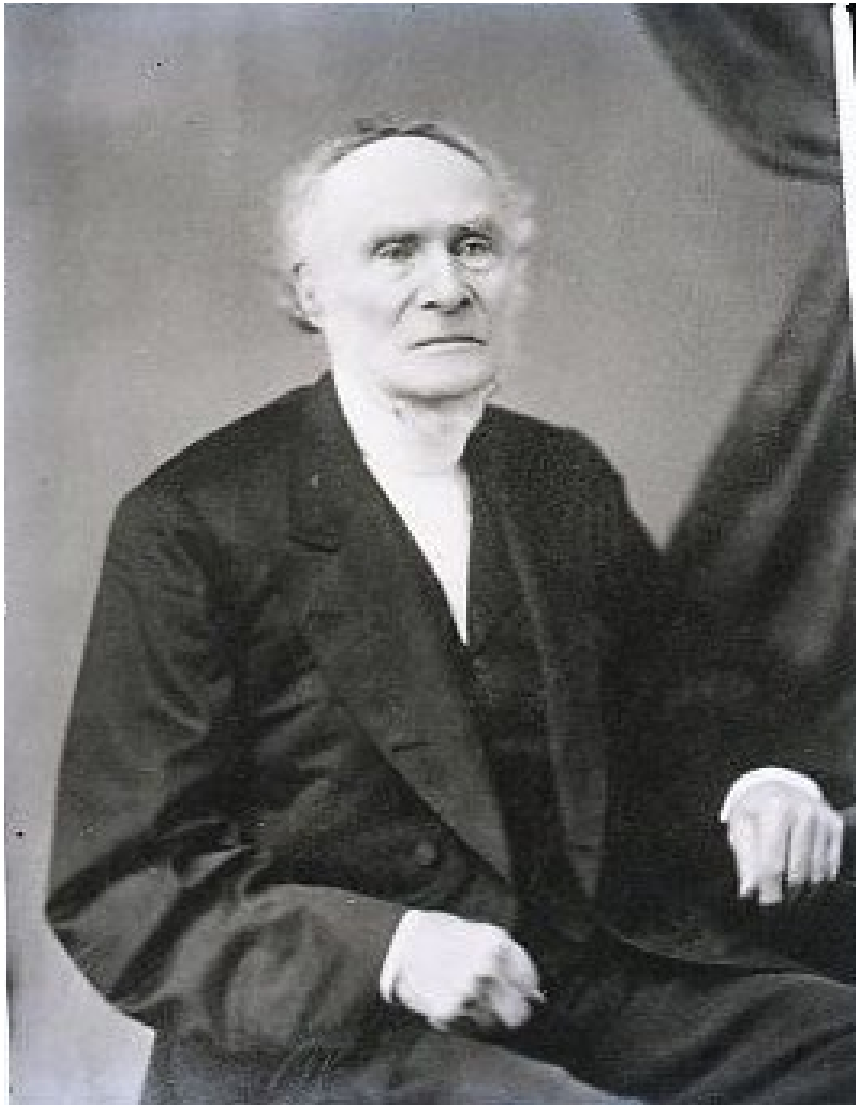
List of Essex County anti-slavery societies published by the abolitionist newspaper *Liberator*, 1838. Wenham's society was formed a few months after this list was published.[576]



Signatures of Rev. Charles Miller (1833–1835 tenure), Jacob Dodge (1787–1869) and Israel D. Barnes (1811–1844), recording their membership in the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity 1834.[577]



Jacob Dodge (1787–1869).[578]



Rev. Charles Miller (1833–1835 tenure).[579]

Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875).[580]

Adoniram J. Dodge (1808–1889).[581]

> Messrs[.] Wendell Phillips, Henry B. Stanton, Amos A. Phelps, and many others, resident in the county, took part in the discussions and gave interest to the meeting. A fugitive slave, (once owned as a chattel personal [*sic*] by a distinguished Senator in a south-western State), gave the meeting some thrilling views of the evils of slaveholding, as he had felt and witnessed them. He stated among other things, that he never knew or heard of a slave family from which some near relative, a father, wife, husband, brother, sister or child, had not been sold away; 'just like your horses,' said he.[582]

In 1839 the Wenham Anti-Slavery Society hosted a meeting at which a fugitive enslaved man gave a speech about his experience.

The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society was short-lived, although further research is needed to determine when the society disbanded. The society was never mentioned in the *Liberator* after 1839.

The Petition of 1839

The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society and the Wenham Baptist Church were closely aligned. (In 1836 the church voted to overserve a Sunday evening each month as a season of prayer for the abolition of enslavement.[583]) The society was likely the driving force behind a petition, circulated during the spring of 1839, that sought the abolition of enslavement and the trade of enslaved people. It was a local expression of a nationwide effort, promoted by the American Anti-Slavery Society during the 1830s, to send similar petitions to Congress and state legislatures.

Two versions were made of Wenham's 1839 petition, one addressed to the Massachusetts legislature and the other to Congress. The transcription below is of the version that was addressed to Congress; the photographs that follow are of the version that was addressed to the legislature. The wording of the two versions varies somewhat. The first two signers were the minister of the Wenham Baptist Church and his wife. The 84 signers (which, interestingly, did not include the minister of Wenham's Congregational Church but did include at least 36 people who worshiped there[584]) represented 12% of the town's population. One of the signers was the formerly enslaved Phyllis

(Bryant) Freeman (ca.1770–1859). Many of the signers were members of the families of Wenham's former enslavers. The transcription below has been annotated with the years of birth and death of signers, in square brackets, to aid in the signers' identification.[585]

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:
The undersigned inhabitants of the Town of Wenham in the County of Essex and State of Massachusetts, pray your honorable bodies to enact laws for the immediate abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the Slave trade between the States. And also to reject any application for the admission of Florida, or any other Slave holding Teritory [*sic*] into this Union. Also, to pass such laws as may be needed, to suppress the Slave trade between this country and the foreign State of Texas.

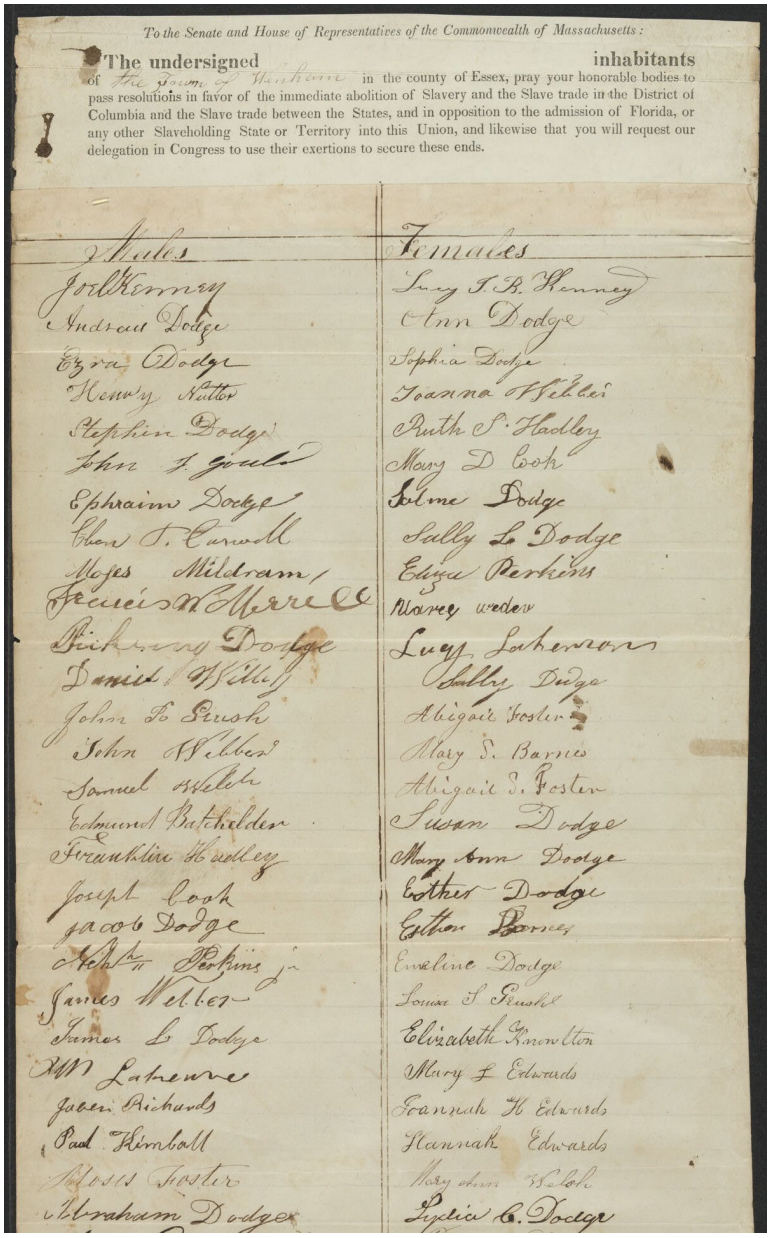
Many of Wenham's abolitionists were members of the families of Wenham's former enslavers.

Males	Females
[Rev.] Joel Kenney [1807–1880[586]]	Lucy I. B. Kenney [1810–1888[587]]
Andrew Dodge [1791–1876[588]]	Ann Dodge [1791–1868[589]]
Ezra Dodge [1794–1872[590]]	Sophia Dodge [1798–1884[591]]
Henry Nutter [1809–1875[592]]	Joanna Webber [1802–1854[593]]
Stephen Dodge [1792–1876[594]]	Ruth S. Hadley [1809–1888[595]]
Ephraim Dodge [1814–1863[596]]	Mary D. Cook [1809–1871[597]]
John J. Gould [1817–1912[598]]	Solome Dodge [1785–1851[599]]
Eben P. C[rowell?][600]	Sally L. Dodge [1817–1905[601]]
Moses Mildram [ca.1814–1872[602]]	Eliza Perkins [1800–1884[603]]
Francis W. Merrill [1810–1896[604]]	Marey [*sic*] Weber [*sic*] [ca.1803–1867[605]]
Pickering Dodge [Jr. 1804–1863[606]]	Lucy Lakeman [b. ca.1822[607]]
Daniel Willey [1811–1889[608]]	Sally Dodge [1805–1892[609]]
John R. Grush [1808–1849[610]]	Abigail Foster [1784–1864[611]]
John Webber [b. ca.1795[612]]	Mary S. Barnes [1813–1867[613]]
Samuel Welch[614]	Abigail S. Foster [1821–1904[615]]
Edmund Batchelder [Jr. 1794–1865[616]]	Susan Dodge [1808–1865[617]]
Franklin Hadley [1799–1877[618]]	Mary Ann Dodge [1818–1897[619]]
Joseph Cook [1809–1878[620]]	Esther Dodge [1809–1882[621]]
Jacob Dodge [1787–1869[622]]	Esther Barnes [1783–1863[623]]
Nehemiah Perkins Jr. [1813–1846[624]]	Emeline Dodge [1817–1888[625]]

James Webber [b. ca.1797][626]
James L. Dodge [1813–1899][628]
William Lakeman [b. ca.1803[630]]
Jabez Richards [1805–1840[632]]
Paul Kimball [1797–1851[634]]
Moses Foster [ca.1781–1857[636]]
Abraham Dodge [1764–1841[638]]
Amos Gould [1800–1885[640]]
Adoniram J. Dodge [1808–1889[642]]
Aaron D. Barnes [1805–1845[644]]
Nathan Knowlton [1760–1848[646]]
Augustus Dodge [1812–1858[648]]
Perley Dodge [1802–1845[650]]

Lyman Butler [1817–1896[652]]
William Langmaid [1817–1856[654]]
Nely H. Batchelder [b. ca.1802][656]
Theodore Dodge [1790–1863[658]]
Daniel Homan [ca.1813–1900[660]]
Robert Tibbets[662]
Richard Dodge [1803–1850[664]]
Abraham Dodge 2d [1804–1887[665]]
James Lee [1793–1862[666]]
William Dodge [1797–1850[667]]
Ira B. Dodge [1812–1888[668]]
Rufus A. Dodge [1809–1875[669]]

Louisa S. Grush [1813–1903[627]]
Elizabeth Knowlton [1783–1851[629]]
Mary L. Edwards [1818–1884][631]
Joannah H. Edwards [1815–1882[633]]
Hannah Edwards [1807–1890[635]]
Mary Ann Welch[637]
Lydia C. Dodge [1778–1840[639]]
Prudence Dodge [1789–1869[641]]
Prudence E. Dodge [1817–1892[643]]
Martha L. Dodge [1815–1878[645]]
Mary A. B. Dodge [1807–1890[647]]
Sarah L. Langmaid [1821–1877[649]]
Phelis [Phyllis] Freman [*sic*] ca.1770–1859[651]]
Eliza A. Dodge [1819–1899[653]]
Augusta E. Dodge [1806–1894[655]]
Betsy Lee [1792–1840[657]]
Elizabeth D. Crowell[659]
Mary Dodge [1790–1852[661]]
Susan H. Dodge [1817–1862[663]]

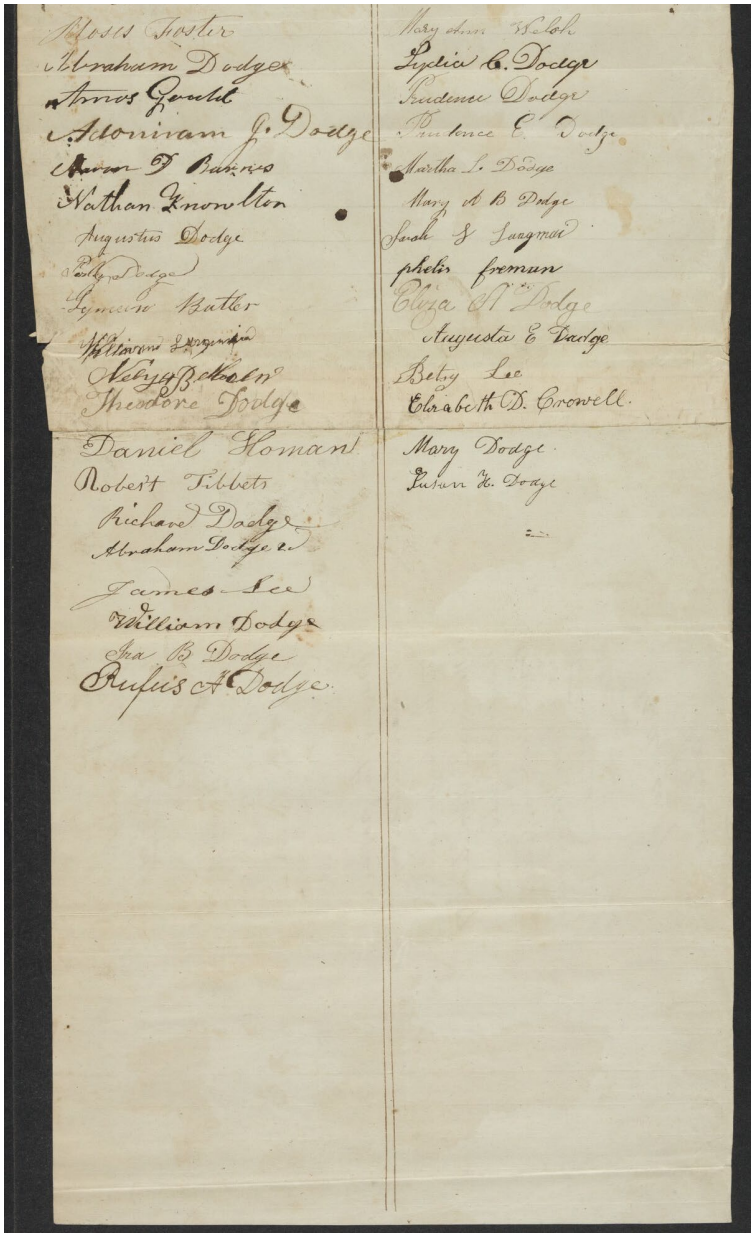


To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned inhabitants of the Town of Wenham in the county of Essex, pray your honorable bodies to pass resolutions in favor of the immediate abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Slave trade between the States, and in opposition to the admission of Florida, or any other Slaveholding State or Territory into this Union, and likewise that you will request our delegation in Congress to use their exertions to secure these ends.

Males	Females
Joel Kenney	Lucy T. B. Kenney
Andrew Dodge	Ann Dodge
Ezra Dodge	Sophia Dodge
Henry Kitter	Joanna Webber
Stephen Dodge	Ruth S. Hadley
John F. Goulds	Mary D. Cook
Ephraim Dodge	Selme Dodge
Chas T. Carwell	Sally L. Dodge
Moses Mildram	Eliza Perkins
Francis W. Merrell	Mary widow
Pickering Dodge	Lucy Patterson
Daniel Wilkins	Sally Dodge
John T. Brush	Abigail Foster
John N. Webber	Mary S. Barnes
Samuel Webber	Abigail S. Foster
Edmund Batchelder	Susan Dodge
Franklin Hadley	Mary Ann Dodge
Joseph Cook	Esther Dodge
Jacob Dodge	Esther Barnes
Asa Perkins Jr.	Emeline Dodge
James Webber	Louisa T. Brush
James L. Dodge	Elizabeth Knowlton
Wm Latenere	Mary F. Edwards
Jabez Richards	Hannah H. Edwards
Paul Kimball	Hannah Edwards
Moses Foster	Mary Ann Webb
Abraham Dodge	Lydia C. Dodge

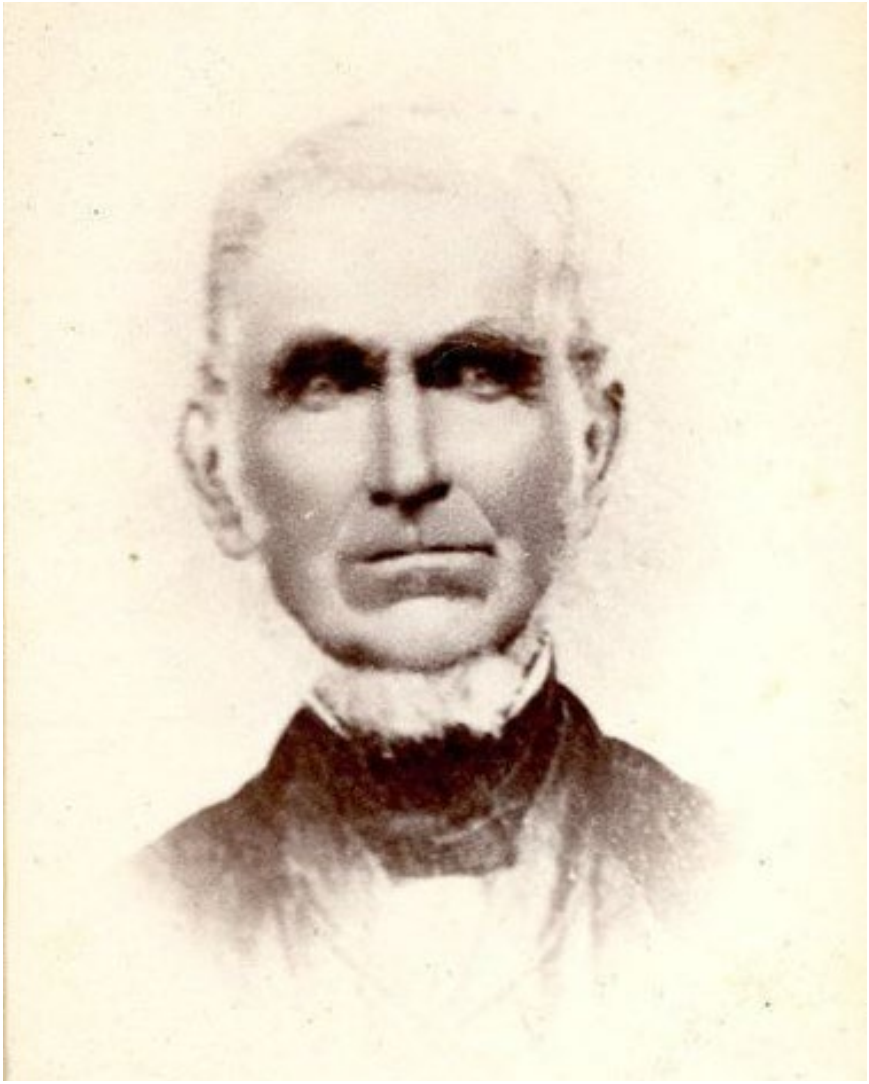
The version of the Wenham petition of 1839 that was addressed to the Massachusetts legislature.[670]



The version of the Wenham petition of 1839 that was addressed to the Massachusetts legislature, continued.[671]

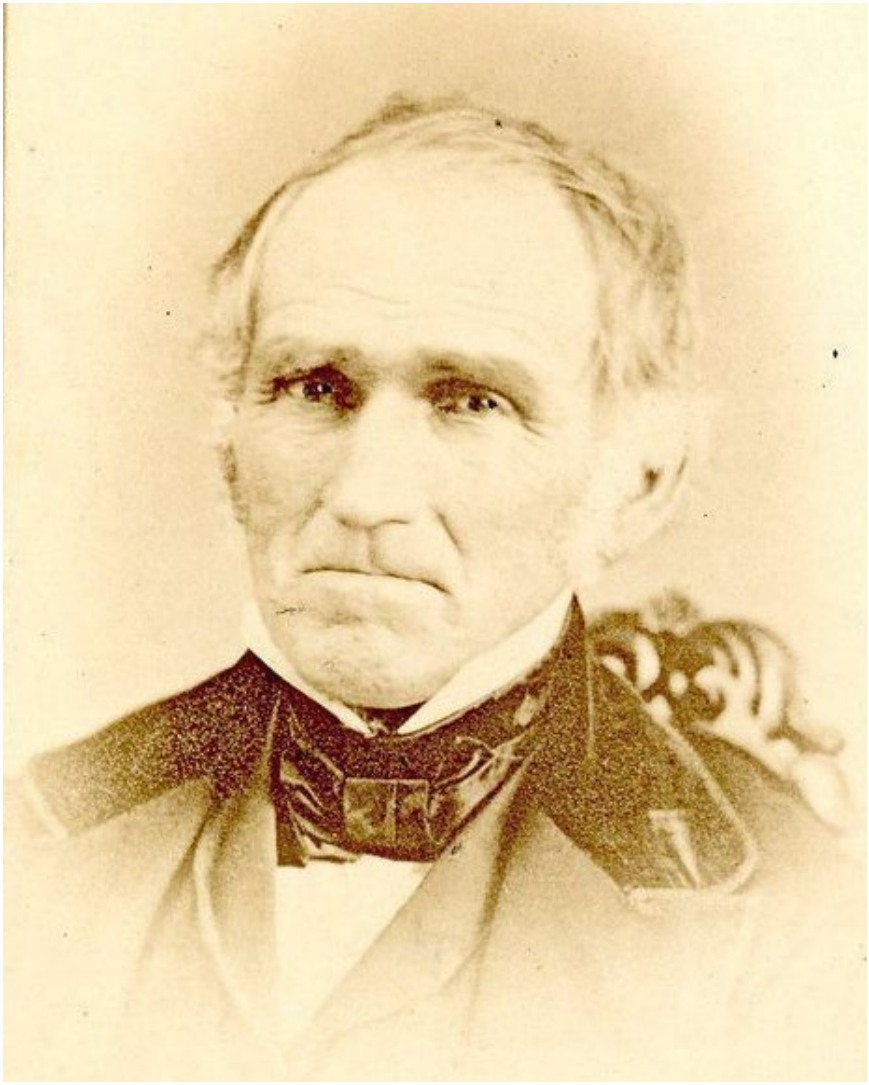
Joseph Cook (1809–1878).[672]

Stephen Dodge (1792–1876).[673]



Maj. Andrew Dodge (1791–1876).[674]

Anna (Dodge) Dodge (1791–1868), wife of Maj. Andrew Dodge.[675]



Ezra Dodge (1794–1872).[676]

The Underground Railroad

By the 1830s there were multiple Underground Railroad stations in Essex County, including stations along the Salem-Ipswich corridor. Fugitives arrived in Salem both by way of a land route from Boston as well as by ship.

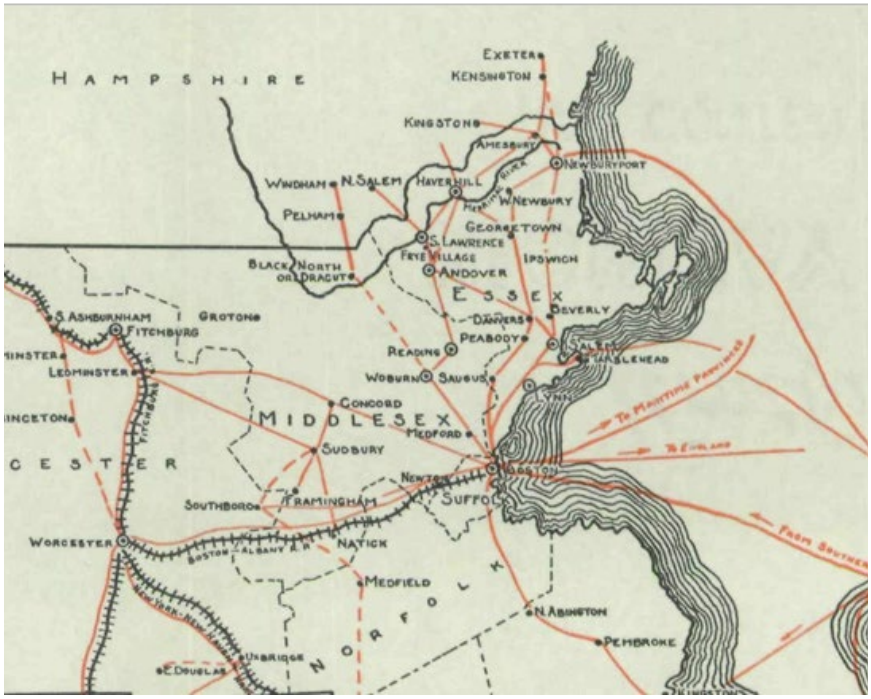
Although Wenham was *along* the Underground Railroad, conclusive evidence of an Underground Railroad *station* in Wenham is elusive.

From Salem three Underground trails diverged to the northward, one through Danvers, Andover, Frye Village, South Lawrence, and across the New Hampshire line; another by way of Danvers, Georgetown, and Haverhill into the same state; and the third by way of Beverly, Ipswich, Newburyport, and Amesbury to Seabrook, New Hampshire. … In Ipswich there were zealous [abolitionist] workers, and at Newburyport we know of three by name: Captain Alexander Graves, a Mr. Jackman and Richard Plumer.[677]

Salem's Underground Railroad conductors included William Chase (1813–1885), William B. Dodge (1783–1869), Josiah Hayward (1801–1874), John A. Innis (ca.1800–1866) and Rev. George Waugh (1820–1897).[678] Salem's Underground Railroad conductors included William Chase (1813–1885), William B. Dodge (1783–1869), Josiah Hayward (1801–1874), John A. Innis (ca.1800–1866) and Rev. George Waugh (1820–1897).[679] In Beverly, Dr. Ingalls Kittredge's (1769–1856) house at the corner of Cabot and Federal Streets was a station.[680]

It is possible, of course, for someone to travel from Beverly to Ipswich by going around Wenham—but if time were of the essence, a fugitive would have taken the direct route through town. Indeed, scholar Wilbur H. Siebert (1866–1961), in his 1935 work on the Underground Railroad in Massachusetts, mapped the route from Salem to Ipswich as going through Wenham. But even though the *route* went through Wenham, was there an Underground Railroad *station* in town?[681]

Oral history maintains that the Josiah Dodge Jr. House on Wenham's Larch Row (pages 148-158) was a station, and that fugitives were hidden in its cellar, accessed by a trap door near the front entrance to the house.[682] The physical evidence, however, is insufficient to prove that the trap door was



Routes of the Underground Railroad through eastern Massachusetts.[683]

installed in or by the nineteenth century. The flooring in the front entrance dates from the twentieth century; the hinges of the trap door date from the twentieth century; and the cellar space beneath the trap door reflects the fact that the house was moved to its current site in the 1920s. If the trap door was installed before the house was moved, we don't know what the space beneath the trap door looked like.[684]

But, probing a bit deeper, one has to wonder why a trap door would have been installed after the house was moved, if indeed that is when it was installed. Further, it is worth noting that Abraham Dodge (1764–1841) owned the house from 1803 until 1841, and that he and his wife Lydia (Crowell) Dodge (1778–1840) signed the 1839 petition seeking the abolition of enslavement.[685] It is also worth noting that there is at least one documented Essex County use of a trap door near the front entrance of a house that was an Underground Railroad station: Simeon Jr. (1815–1900) and Betsey (Goodwin) Dodge (1819–1903) used one in their house at 236 Washington Street, Marblehead.[686] Finally (and arguably a coincidence), Simeon Dodge 3rd (1840–1905)—son of the Marblehead abolitionists Simeon Jr. and Betsey (Goodwin) Dodge—owned the Josiah Dodge Jr. House, although he bought it in 1865.[687] In aggregate these pieces of information tempt one to invoke the adage "where there's smoke, there's fire." Nonetheless, we cannot conclude that the house was a station on the Underground Railroad.

If we entertain some speculation, however, one wonders whether Wenham's Israel D. Barnes, Jacob Dodge, Richard Dodge or Rev. Charles Miller might have been a conductor on the Underground Railroad, given their membership in the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity. After all, fellow members of the society included documented conductors William Chase, William B. Dodge, Josiah Hayward and John A. Innis of Salem and Dr. Ingalls Kittredge's of Beverly.[688] But the society had hundreds of members, not all of whom were conductions, of course. No evidence has been found to support the speculation that Barnes, Jacob or Richard Dodge, or Rev. Miller were conductors.[689]

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References in the *Liberator* to Wenham's abolitionists and abolitionist activity quickly petered out:[690]

- The Wenham Anti-Slavery Society may have been responsible for the invitation that was extended to Alanson St. Clair (b. 1804), of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, to speak in Wenham in 1839.[691]
- In 1839 Wenham residents Solome Dodge (1785–1851), Hannah Dodge (b. 1792?) and William Dodge (1797–1850) made financial contributions to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.[692] In 1840 Wenham resident David Standley (1797–1870) made a similar contribution to the Massachusetts society.[693]
- In 1854 an advertisement ran in the paper that promoted a lecture by Loring Moody (1814–1883) on the "Encroachment of the Slave Power, and the Relations of the North to Slavery."[694]

Further research may yield insights on Wenhamites' attitudes toward abolitionism during the two decades leading up to the Civil War.[695]

Simeon Dodge 3rd (1840–1905).[696]

571 "Anti-Slavery Convention" (1834), 1. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834). Anti-Slavery Society of Ipswich, MS (1838–1844). "List of Anti-Slavery Societies in Massachusetts" (1838), 64. The Anti-Slavery Society of Salem was comprised primarily of men from Salem, Beverly, Marblehead and Danvers.

572 Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834), unnumbered pages, images 24, 30, 34 of mss35b01f01. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 32, 34. "Salem Anti-Slavery Society" (1834), 30.

For more on Israel D. Barnes see endnote 689. For more on Jacob Dodge see endnotes 622 and 689. For more on Richard Dodge see endnotes 664 and 689.

Rev. Miller and Jacob Dodge were among the society's delegates to the June 11-12, 1834 convention in Salem to form an Essex County Anti-Slavery Society. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 31-32. "Anti Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity" (1834), 3. "Essex County Anti-Slavery Society" (1834), 74. See also "Essex County Anti-Slavery Convention in Salem" (1834), 95.

The society voted "to recommend that Anti-Slavery meetings be held in the towns composing this society on the first day of August [1834]; & that collections be taken up in aid of the same object" and chose Jacob Dodge and Richard Dodge to organize Wenham's meeting. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 34.

In 1834 the society appointed Dea. Jacob Dodge to supervise the collection of signatures in Wenham on a petition to Congress "on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia." Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 37. Further research is needed to determine whether the petition was made, and (if so) further research is needed to determine the its text and signers.

The society appointed Jacob Dodge as a delegate to the May 24-26, 1836 New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), [74]. Israel D. Barnes was also a delegate to the convention; see List of Delegates (1836).

No Wenham residents found in Anti-Slavery Society of Ipswich, MS (1838–1844). The Thomas Kimball on the book's third page was probably Capt. Thomas Kimball (1761–1852) of Ipswich and not the West Wenham resident Thomas Kimball Jr. (1789–1845). Findagrave.com, memorials #61938087 and 81408774.

573 "New Societies" (1838), 195. For genealogy see J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:122; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49396655.

574 "New Society" (1839), 56.

For Rev. Kenney see M. O. Allen (1860), 207, and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #40296255.

Rufus A. Dodge was the son of the Wenham Anti-Slavery Society's previous president Jacob Dodge (1787–1869). Essex Institute (1904), 28. Findagrave.com, memorial #52685579. For more information on Rufus A. Dodge see endnote 669.

Adoniram J. Dodge was a grandson of enslaver of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Further research is needed to determine his religious affiliation during the 1830s. He does not appear in the Wenham Congregational Church's 1840 list of members (although it's feasible that he worshiped there as a non-member). He purchased pew #24 in the Congregational Church in 1844. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:184. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947088. See also endnote 642.

575 The records are not on file at the Wenham Museum.

576 "List of Anti-Slavery Societies in Massachusetts" (1838), 64.

577 Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834), unnumbered pages, images 24, 30, 34 of mss35b01f01. Images courtesy of Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Rowley, MA. These signatures appear following the society's constitution. Signature of Richard Dodge (1803–1850) not found in this record book. However, there is a pencil inscription at image 30: "More than forty in Danvers have signed a printed Constitution & have not had opportunity to sign this [record book]." This presents the possibility that there were additional residents of Wenham who were members of the society.

578 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2016.355.

579 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2016.548.

580 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2016.369.

581 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2016.345.

582 Torrey (1839), 58. Torrey's article includes a synopsis of resolutions passed and rejected at the meeting. See also Sanger (1839), 71.

The meeting raised eyebrows among some of the *Liberator*'s readers because the meeting had not been announced in that newspaper beforehand:

> A quarterly meeting of this Society [i.e., the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society] was held at Wenham on Wednesday of last week. No report of the proceedings has been sent to us, and consequently we have no information on the subject to communicate to our readers. It seems proper, in this connection, to inquire why it was that no notice of this meeting was sent for publication in the Liberator. The Secretary complained loudly at the annual meeting of the State Society, that great difficulty had been experienced in getting notices of meetings before the abolitionists of the county. This was even urged as an argument in favor of a new paper! Why, then, was a notice sent to the new paper, and not to the Liberator? Was it designed to keep the readers and friends of the Liberator in that county ignorant, as far as possible, of the time when the meeting was to be held, in order that certain favorite measures might be carried without opposition? We say not that such *was* the design, but only ask our friends in Old Essex to keep their eyes open. These are times which require sleepless vigilance on the part of all who love the cause of truth and righteousness.

"Essex County A. S. Society" (1839), 47.

Torrey (1839), 58, however, responded:

> It is due to the members of the society to say, that the delay in publishing the minutes of the meeting was unintentional. They were accidentally left at Wenham, and not sent up till the middle of last week, and the engagements of the undersigned [Charles T. Torrey, recording secretary] did not allow him to copy them till to-day.

583 L. A. Dodge (1931), 6-7. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 95.

584 Documentation of membership in the Congregational Church is captured in the respective endnotes for the relevant signers of the petition. The records of the Baptist Church have yet to be found, searches having been made at the Wenham Museum and the town clerk's office.

The 36-signers statistic includes 28 members of the church: Mary S. Barnes (1813–1867), Mary D. Cook (1809–1871), Andrew Dodge (1791–1876), Ann Dodge (1791–1868), Emeline Dodge (1817–1888), Esther Dodge (1809–1882), Ezra Dodge (1794–1872), Mary Ann Dodge (1818–1897), Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875), Sophia Dodge (1798–1884), Stephen Dodge (1792–1876), Pickering Dodge Jr. (1804–1863), Abigail Foster (1784–1864), Abigail S. Foster (1821–1904), Moses Foster (ca.1781–1857), Amos Gould (1800–1885), Franklin Hadley (1799–1877), Ruth S. Hadley (1809–1888), Paul Kimball (1797–1851), Elizabeth Knowlton (1783–1851), Betsy Lee (1792–1840), James Lee (1793–1862), Francis W. Merrill (1810–1896), Moses Mildram (ca.1814–1872), Eliza Perkins (1800–1884), Nehemiah Perkins Jr. (1813–1846), John Webber (b. ca.1795) and Daniel Willey (1811–1889). These 28 signers represented 26% of the list of 106 members published in 1840. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840).

The 36-signers statistic also includes eight people who likely worshiped at the Congregational Church but were not members: [Capt.] Edmund Batchelder Jr. (1794–1865), Joseph Cook (1809–1878), Sally L. Dodge (1817–1905), Solome Dodge (1785–1851), Theodore Dodge (1790–1863), Daniel Homan (ca.1813–1900), Nathan Knowlton (1760–1848) and Jabez Richards (1805–1840). (Wenham First Congregational Church (1840) excludes people who may have worshiped at the church but were not yet members.)

It is noteworthy that—although the Wenham Congregational Church's 1840 *Confession of Faith and Covenant* includes regulations adopted in 1834 that prohibited the consumption of alcohol—the *Confession of Faith and Covenant* is silent on the topic of abolitionism. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 5-6.

585 Kenney et al., MS (1839). The transcription presented here is of the version that was sent to Congress, while the photographs are of the version that was sent to the Massachusetts legislature. The texts of the two versions vary somewhat; see endnote 670.

The presentation of this and other petitions to the Massachusetts legislature was reported in "List of Petitions" (1839), 42, the newspaper report citing "Joel Kenney and 44 others of Wenham" and "Lucy J. [*sic*] B. Kenney and 38 others of Wenham" as signers.

The 12% statistic is based on Wenham's population as tallied in the 1840 Federal census.

586 M. O. Allen (1860), 207. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #40296255.

587 Gorham (1883), 7. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #40296267.

588 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 6, 1834 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pews #8, 19 and 28 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 142, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:183. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54078664.

589 Wife of Maj. Andrew Dodge (1791–1876), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 6, 1834 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #66532161.

590 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on August 20, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #11 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 70, 171. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:183. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49417880.

591 Wife of Ezra Dodge (1794–1872), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on August 20, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 70, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49418067.

592 "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1875:172 (frame 197). Essex Institute (1904), 88, 149. Essex Institute (1909–1910), 1:243.

593 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:273. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:193, 329. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #181812681.

594 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on November 4, 1832 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #42 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:107. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60899579.

595 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on October 1, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 67, 154, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63833872.

596 J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:186. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49396938.

597 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on September 27, 1829 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 72, 162. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54051340.

598 Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #64119327.

599 Wife of Jacob Dodge (1787–1869), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (her husband Jacob purchased pews #32, 41 and 67 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #75332360.

600 Unidentified.

601 Great-granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was married by the church in 1839 although she does not appear in the church's 1840 list of members). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:122 (Jacob and Rebecca (Lee) Dodge). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 164. Essex Institute (1904), 29. "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," 1905:Wenham:44 (frame 13). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #73098471.

602 Member of the Congregational Church about the time of the 1839 petition (purchased pew #6 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 71. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #62237726.

603 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on March 4, 1838 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 16. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #53566-663.

604 Member of the Congregational Church about the time of the 1839 petition (purchased pew #54 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63030122.

605 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:318. "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1867:164 (frame 177). Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:285, 329.

606 Member of the Congregational Church about the time of the 1839 petition (purchased pews #5, 29 and 65 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:143. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #234946335.

607 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:298.

608 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 41, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #213328346.

609 Wife of James L. Dodge (1813–1899), a great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Essex Institute (1916–1925), 3:303, 523. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #59229517.

610 Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60956262.

611 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 9, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 171. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63725802.

612 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 162. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:273. Essex Institute (1904), 143, 174. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:193, 329.

613 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on October 2, 1831 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52053-660.

614 Possibly Samuel Welch (1803–1878). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #43770068.

615 Member of the Congregational Church about the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on September 1, 1839 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #57995235.

616 Referred to as Capt. Edmund Batchelder [Jr.] in contemporary records and in this text. Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (his wife Lydia was made a member of the church in 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members, although Edmund does not appear in the 1840 list; purchased pew #40 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Pierce (1898), 441. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #64021238.

617 Wife of Abraham Dodge (1807–1895), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123. Findagrave.com, memorials #92894651 and 92895224.

618 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on October 1, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pews #2 and 54 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 67, 142, 154, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63833794.

619 Great-granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 6, 1834 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS

(1792–1847), 70, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Gorham (1883), 7. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:183. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49417203.

620 Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (his wife Mary was made a member of the church in 1829 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members, although Joseph does not appear in the 1840 list; purchased pew #45 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 72, 162. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54051259.

621 Wife of Rufus A. Dodge (1809–1875), a great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on October 1, 1826 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 67, 70, 171. Essex County Deeds 283:48 (Rufus A. and Esther Dodge to Andrew Dodge, mortgage, 1835), and 307:15 (Rufus A. and Esther Dodge to Andrew Dodge, mortgage, 1838). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52684893.

622 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:122. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #49396655. See also endnote 689.

He was dismissed from the Wenham Congregational Church in 1832. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 107-114. Town of Wenham (1977), 123. He apparently joined the Wenham Baptist Church, because he is referred to as "Dea. Jacob Dodge" in 1834 in Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 37. He returned to the Congregational Church (date not determined), purchasing pews #32, 41 and 67 in 1844. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844).

623 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 72. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:106. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60419140.

624 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on March 4, 1838 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 16. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #53566-467.

625 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on November 4, 1838 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 70. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54085172.

626 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:318. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:285, 329.

627 Gorham (1883), 7. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60956204.

628 Great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:122 (Jacob and Rebecca (Lee) Dodge). Essex Institute (1904), 24. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #592-29356.

629 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on September 27, 1829 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #13 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:301. "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:185:169 (frame 175). White (1900), 1:387.

630 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:298.

631 Gorham (1883), 8. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:118. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #132792728.

632 Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (his wife Mary Ann was made a member of the church in 1829 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members, although Jabez does not appear in the 1840 list; Mary Ann purchased pew #17 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 39, 67, 69, 70, 154, 171. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 16. Wenham First Congregational church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63739359.

633 Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:118. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #191-043504.

634 Member of the Congregational Church about the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on May 5, 1839 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pews #12, 35 and 39 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63268-574.

635 Gorham (1883), 7 (Hannah Choate). Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 1:118. L. A. Dodge (1931), 4. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60956329.

636 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 9, 1826, elected a deacon on January 4, 1827 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #46 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 66, 101, 142, 171. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14-15. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #63725561.

637 Probably wife of Samuel Welch, who also signed the petition.

638 Son of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42. Essex County Probate 37519 (Abraham Dodge, 1842). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60864751.

639 Wife of Abraham Dodge (1764–1841), a son of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42. Essex Institute (1903), 138, 158. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60866236.

640 Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 6, 1834 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #4 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 69, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 15. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #62616083.

641 Wife of Nicholas Dodge Jr. (1777–1857), a grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). M. O. Allen (1860), 206. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:177. L. A. Dodge (1931), 4. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #41855052.

642 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:184. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947088.

643 Great-granddaughter of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Gorham (1883), 7 (Prudence [Dodge] Roberts). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:177. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #41855058.

644 Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847, 41, 43. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60530688.

645 Wife of Augustus Dodge (1812–1858), a great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60939647.

646 Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (his wife Elizabeth was made a member of the church in 1829 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members, although Nathan does not appear in the 1840 list). Essex Institute (1904), 209.

647 Wife of Richard Dodge (1803–1850), a great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Gorham (1883), 7. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 69, 154, 172. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52535920.

648 Great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:177. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60939919.

649 Great-granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 164 (Sarah Caswell). Town of Wenham, MS (1851–1900), 32. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74 (Sarah (Dodge) Lee). Essex Institute (1904), 57 (Elizabeth Lee), 97, 112 (Aaron and Sarah (Dodge) Lee), 141, 142 (Aaron and Sarah (Dodge) Lee).

650 Husband of Lydia C. Dodge (b.1810), a great-granddaughter of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:177. Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #55662370 and 60913797.

651 "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1859:frame 194.

652 Butler (1896), 163. Essex Institute (1904), 97, 174. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #68845160.

653 Great-great-granddaughter of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Gorham (1883), 8 (Eliza Hawkins). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:174 (John Thorne Dodge). "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1899:664 (frame 664). Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #60391983, 60947601 and 60947924.

654 Husband of Sarah L. Langmaid (1821–1877), a great-granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 152, 164. Town of Wenham, MS (1851–1900), 10. Essex Institute (1904), 97, 141. Essex Institute (1909–1910), 1:206.

655 Wife of Abraham Dodge 2nd (1804–1887), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Gorham (1883), 7. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52533068.

656 Born in New Hampshire. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1840:253 and 1850:306. "Nely" was probably a diminutive of Cornelius. But did he go by the name "Henry" later in life? See Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #115430618.

657 Wife of James Lee (1793–1862), a grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on January 7, 1827 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 42, 68, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 16. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60955779.

658 Grandson of Peter Dodge (1724–1795). Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (his wife Eliza was made a member of the church in 1831 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members, although Theodore does not appear in the 1840 list). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 155, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:55, 93. Essex Institute (1904), 30. "New Hampshire, U.S., Death Records, 1650–1969," 1790–1900:Draper-Dudley, J.:frame 3189.

659 Unidentified.

660 Future husband of Sarah Lee "Sally" Dodge (1817–1905), a great-granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Likely a worshiper at the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was married by the church in 1839 although he does not appear in the church's 1840 list of members). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 164. "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1900:725 (frame 720). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #73098471.

661 Granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792), and wife of William Dodge (1797–1850), a great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Town of Wenham, MS (1851–1900), 32. United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1850:299. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123.

662 Unidentified.

663 Wife of Ira B. Dodge (1812–1888), a great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947566.

664 Great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 154. Town of Wenham, MS (1844–1850), 16. J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:115-116, 174. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #54059417.

Richard Dodge (1783–1865), a cabinetmaker who lived on the Beverly-Wenham town line, was a member and deacon of the Wenham Baptist Church from 1831 to 1865. He married Elizabeth Curtis in 1831. M. O. Allen (1860), 206, 212. "The Wenham Baptists" (1881). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:176. Topsfield Historical Society (1906–1907), 2:80, 97. L. A. Dodge (1931), 2, 4, 6. L. A. Dodge (1947), 8-10, photograph opposite 10. When he signed his will in 1863 and a codicil to his will in 1865, he did so without connecting the words "Richard" and "Dodge." Essex County Probate 37682 (Richard Dodge, 1865), :3 Will (1863), :4 Codicil (1865). In contrast, the signature on the 1839 petition (which admittedly was made 24 years before Dodge wrote his will) connects the lower-case "d" in "Richard" with the upper-case "D" in "Dodge.

In addition to the rendering of the penmanship, the signature on this petition is attributed to Richard Dodge (1803–1850) and not to Richard Dodge (1783–1865) because the petition includes the signature of Mary A. B. Dodge (wife of Richard Dodge (1803–1850)) but does not include the signature of Elizabeth (Curtis) Dodge.

665 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123. L. A. Dodge (1968), III-8. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #53668065.

666 Grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on January 7, 1827 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #20 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 68, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 16. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:74 (Sarah (Dodge) Lee). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60956139.

667 Great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) and husband of Mary Dodge (1790–1852), a granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123, 259. L. A. Dodge (1931), 2, 4.

668 Great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123, 259. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #60947562.

669 Great-grandson of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Member of the Congregational Church at the time of the 1839 petition (was made a member of the church on July 6, 1834 and appears in the church's 1840 list of members; purchased pew #21 in 1844). Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 70, 172. Wenham First Congregational Church

(1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:122 (Jacob and Rebecca (Lee) Dodge). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52685579.

670 Kenney et al., MS (1839):

> To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:
> The undersigned inhabitants of the Town of Wenham in the county of Essex, pray your honorable bodies to pass resolutions in favor of the immediate abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Slave trade between the States, and in opposition to the admission of Florida, or any other Slaveholding State or Territory into this Union, and likewise that you will request our delegation in Congress to use their exertions to secure these ends.

671 Kenney et al., MS (1839).

672 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, catalog number?.

673 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, 1998.13.001a.

674 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, 1998.13.001?.

675 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, 1998.13.001?.

676 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, 1998.13.001?.

677 Siebert (1935), 57. See also Siebert (1898), 133.

> Siebert (1935), 54:
> The … shore line of the Underground system out of Boston ran through Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Ipswich, Newburyport, and Amesbury to Seabrook, New Hampshire, unless the branch from Amesbury to West Newbury was used.

One of Siebert's sources was Brigham, MS (1893), in which Brigham said

> My wife and I assisted in the escape of a good looking man about 30 years old. My brother-in-law, D. W. Friend took him in the evening. He strayed from the track which led through Salem, Ipswich, and Newburyport.

For D[elucena] L[athrop] Brigham Jr. (1814–1912, m. 1842) see Essex Institute (1903), 142, 205 and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #75993866. For D[aniel] W. Friend (m. 1844, d. 1904) see Essex Institute (1903), 142, 165).

678 Siebert (1898), 411. Siebert (1935), 25-26, 54-56. National Park Service (2021), 27. Siebert's sources included Whittier, MS (1834) and G. W. Putnam, MS (1893).

For William Chase see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52116338. For William B. Dodge see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #66482906. For Josiah Hayward see "Obituary" (1874), 1. For John A. Innis see "Municipal Court" (1846), 2; "Death of John A. Innis" (1866), 2; Danvers Historical Society (1893), 150; S. Dodge, MS (1893); and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #234948514. For Rev. George Waugh see "Rev. George Waugh" (1897), 2; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #106103567.

679 Siebert (1898), 411. Siebert (1935), 25-26, 54-56. National Park Service (2021), 27. Siebert's sources included Whittier, MS (1834) and G. W. Putnam, MS (1893).

For William Chase see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #52116338. For William B. Dodge see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #66482906. For Josiah Hayward see "Obituary"

(1874), 1. For John A. Innis see "Municipal Court" (1846), 2; "Death of John A. Innis" (1866), 2; Danvers Historical Society (1893), 150; S. Dodge, MS (1893); and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #234948514. For Rev. George Waugh see "Rev. George Waugh" (1897), 2; and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #106103567.

680 "Died" (1856), 2. Ober (1888), 2:764-766. Siebert (1935), 57. Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #135272381.

681 L. A. Dodge (1968) made no mention of Underground Railroad activity in Wenham, despite his familiarity with the Josiah Dodge Jr. House and other houses in town.

682 Former house owner Frances "Frannie" DeLacvivier, tour of the house provided to Frederick S. "Rick" Woodland Jr., 2001.

683 Siebert (1935), between 26-27.

684 Inspection of the house by Robert O. Corcoran on August 7, 2024.

685 Essex County Deeds 178:29 (Jacob Jr. and Mary Dodge to Abraham Dodge, 1803). Kenney et al., MS (1839).

There were multiple Abraham Dodges who lived in Wenham during the mid-nineteenth century. Regarding the Abraham Dodges in the 1840 Federal census:

- "Abraham Dodge" was Abraham Dodge (1764–1841).
- "Abraham Dodge 2nd" was Abraham Dodge (1804–1887) husband of Augusta Edwards (1806–1894). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123; L.A. Dodge (1968), III-8; "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," Pre-1903:1887:329 (frame 337); and Findagrave.com, memorial #53668065.
- "Abraham Dodge 3rd" was Abraham Dodge (1816–1856), brother-in-law of Abraham Dodge 2nd, who in 1839 married Elizabeth Crowell Dodge (1812–1888), the daughter of Jacob Jr. and Mary (Corning) Dodge. Essex County Deeds 529:225 (Ira B. Dodge *et. al* to Abraham Dodge, 1855), Abraham 3rd being one of the sellers; J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123; L. A. Dodge (1968), III-8 and Findagrave.com, memorials #41854933 and 612-16386. However, adding to the confusion: Abraham Dodge (1816–1856) referred to himself as "Abraham Dodge (second)" and signed his name as "Abraham Dodge jr. [*sic*]" in Essex County Deeds 338:198 (Abraham Jr. [*sic*] and Elizabeth C. Dodge to Samuel Danforth et al., 1842); and referred to himself as "Abraham Dodge second" and signed his name as "Abraham Dodge 2d" in Essex County Deeds 338:201 (Abraham 2d [*sic*] and Elizabeth C. Dodge to Richard Dodge, 1842).
- "Abraham Dodge 4th" was probably Abraham Dodge (1807–1895). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123; and Findagrave.com, memorial #92894651.

686 J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:215. Siebert (1935), 56. Danvers Historical Society (1893), 67, 150. S. Dodge, MS (1893); National Park Service (2021), 45. Shannon (2021). Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #135374280 and 145962136.

Dodge wrote that he and his wife operated their house as a station "between 1840 and 60." S. Dodge, MS (1893).

687 Essex County Deeds 681:30 (Elizabeth C. Dodge to Simeon Dodge, 1865); and 1357:129 (Simeon and Betsey Dodge to Charles S. Tuckerman, 1892), first parcel. For Simeon Dodge 3rd see "Massachusetts, U.S., Death Records, 1841–1915," 1905:Wenham:32 (frame 2), and Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #53524873.

688 Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834), unnumbered pages, images 21, 22 of mss35b01f01. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834–1839), 1-2, 4-5, 17-18,

20, 22-25, 27, 29-35, 37-42, 44-[52], [54]-[63], [65]-[68], [70]-[81], [83]-[85], [87]-[91], [94]-[95], [97], [99]-[100], [104], [111]-[112], [115]-[118], [123], [125]-[129], [131]-[133].

689 Israel D. Barnes (1811–1844) was the son of Thomas Jr. and Esther (Dodge) Barnes, the intention of whose marriage was published in Wenham in 1804. Israel's birth is unrecorded, but we can deduce the identity of his parents based on Essex County Deeds 265:123 (Esther Barnes et al. to Israel D. Barnes, 1831). His mother inherited the Newman-Fiske-Dodge House (still standing at 162 Cherry Street) in 1823. He bought his mother's house in 1831 but sold it the next year. Essex County Probate 7868 (Israel A. Dodge, 1823), :11 Inventory (1823), :15 Will (1822), bequest to Esther Barnes and Nancy Wilkins. Essex County Deeds 260:179 (Esther Barnes et al. to Uzziel Rea, mortgage, 1831), first parcel; 265:123 (Esther Barnes et al. to Israel D. Barnes, 1831), first parcel; and 266:182 (Israel D. Barnes to Abraham Patch, 1832), first parcel. Essex Institute (1904), 89, 107. Corcoran (2025), 312. Barnes' subsequent residence has yet to be identified; he identified himself as a resident of Wenham when he joined the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity in 1834. Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity, MS (1834), unnumbered page, image 34 of mss35b01f01. Barnes became a member of the Wenham Congregational Church on August 20, 1826, appears in the church's 1840 list of members, and purchased pew #25 in that church in 1844. Wenham First Congregational Church (1840), 14. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1844). He did not sign the abolitionist petition that was circulated in 1839, and the reason for this is unexplained.

Jacob Dodge (1787–1869) was a grandson of enslaver Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). He bought the Richard Kimball House (still standing at 26 Pleasant Street) in 1823 and lived there until his death in 1869. Essex County Deeds 232:67 (John T. Dodge Jr., guardian, to Jacob Dodge, 1823), first parcel. Walling (1856), "J. Dodge" House. Essex County Probate 37596 (Jacob Dodge, 1869), :5-7 Will (1867), :16 Inventory (1869), :31 Inventory (1871). Beers (1872), 95, "J. Dodge Est[ate]" House. Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.121 (1977). Dodge was a member of the Wenham Congregational Church until 1832, apparently joined the Wenham Baptist Church by 1834, and subsequently returned to the Wenham Congregational Church by 1844; see per endnote 622.

Richard Dodge (1803–1850) was a great-grandson of enslaver Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778). When Richard's father John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851) wrote his will in 1844 he bequeathed his house (formerly near 25 Rubbly Road, on the prior site of the Lieut. William Dodge House) to Richard. Essex County Probate 37613 (John T[horne] Dodge, 1851), :10 Will (1844) bequest to son Richard, :6 Codicil (1850) bequest to heirs of son Richard, :17 Inventory (1851). Walling (1856), "R. F. Dodge" House. Beers (1872), 95, "R. Frank Dodge" House. Essex County Deeds 876:236 (Mary A. B. Dodge et al. to George Wheatland, 1873), first parcel. Richard may have shared his father's house prior to his father's death in 1851. See also endnote 664.

Rev. Charles Miller (1833–1835 tenure) lived in the Wenham Baptist Church's parsonage formerly near 11 Dodges Row. Wenham's Baptist Church was organized in 1826, and its meeting house was built in 1831. In 1832 the congregation received the land on which the meeting house had been built. Essex County Deeds 265:190 (Andrew and Anna Dodge to First Baptist Church and Society in Wenham, 1832). M. O. Allen (1860), 206. L. A. Dodge (1931), 5-6. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 95.

> Soon after the formation of the church, the want of a parsonage for the residence of the pastor began to be sensibly felt. A special effort was therefore made, and a neat and comfortable house two stories high, and a little removed from the main road, was erected at a cost of about $1500. It has a quiet and pleasant location, well adapted to be the residence and study of a country clergyman.

M. O. Allen (1860), 212.

The parsonage and its lot were acquired in 1833. Essex County Deeds 419:9 (Nicholas Dodge to Dea. Richard Dodge et al., 1833) and 419:9 (Benjamin Edwards et al. to Calvinistic Baptist Society, 1849). Walling (1856), "Parsonage." Massachusetts Historical Commission, MACRIS, WNH.I (2017); and WNH.228 (no date).

690 Not included here: publication of an 1841 letter from Richard Hood (1802–1881) who was seeking dismissal from the Baptist Church in Danvers and admission to "the church in Wenham" (presumably the Wenham Baptist Church and not the Wenham Congregational Church). Hood (1841), 138. For identification of Hood see Bosson (1909), 26.

691 "An Erroneous Statement" (1839), 190:

> MR. GARRISON : —A Communication over the signature of J. E. P. in the last Liberator, seems to demand a passing notice. The writer states, that Mr. St. Clair, an agent of the Mass. Abolition Society, at the close of his last lecture, at Topsfield, [']went on in a tirade of considerable length against the old organization [i.e., the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society], hurling his shafts thick and fast against that society—stating that the people of Wenham were so incensed against it, that they would not suffer a lecturer of that association to hold forth in their town.' Now as I was present at that meeting, I have no hesitancy in saying, that what is affirmed in the quotation above is untrue. He made no attack whatever upon the old society, and no person could have told from his remarks at the time whether he was an agent of the old or new organization, but as he presented the claims of the latter for pecuniary aid to defray its expenses for agents. When he had got through with this money 'tirade,' several gentlemen from Wenham, who were present, came forward and gave Mr. St. Clair an invitation to lecture in their town and I think they said the invitation was made by the request of the selectmen of W[enham]. Mr. St. Clair said he was rejoiced to see another opening where the friends of the bleeding slave could stand and plead his cause, and added that the agents of the old society had never been able to get admission to lecture in that place. This I am certain was all the allusion he made to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—made, I supposed at the time, merely to show the onward march of abolitionism in our land. By giving this a place in your next paper, you will serve the cause of truth and do an act of justice to Mr. St. Clair. A SUBSCRIBER.
> Topsfield, Nov. 20, 1839.

The letter from "J. E. P." to the *Liberator* claimed that the people of Wenham were opposed to the views of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which were more progressive than those of the Massachusetts Abolition Society:

> MR. EDITOR:
>
> About four weeks since, Mr. St. Clair, an agent of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, gave us some lectures on the subject of slavery. At the close of the last one, he requested the friends of the society whose representative he was, to remain after the congregation had retired. Some twelve or fifteen individuals stayed. The Rev. gentleman then went on, in a tirade of considerable length, against the old organization, hurling his shafts thick and fast against that society—stating that the people of Wenham were so incensed against it that they would not suffer a lecturer of that association to hold forth in their town. Mr. St. Clair had just been to W[enham] and attempted to produce such an effect as he has represented. From this place he went to Beverly and made statements in regard to Topsfield similar to those made here in regard to Wenham; and if we are rightly informed, he has pursued this course all about in this vicinity. How long will such a course as this be pursued? How long

> shall misrepresentation be the order of the day? How long will men who profess to fear God and regard man, be found pursuing such a course as is calculated to prejudice the minds, and beget in the hearts of the people enmity to towards [*sic*] those who for years have stood in the front rank in pleading for God's suffering poor? Echo answers, how long? And how can those professed ministers of Jesus Christ, who have for the last ten years ministered at the sacred altar, and yet not so much as made one plea in behalf of crushed millions in our own land, now be anxious to sacrifice one who has been thundering in the ears of this nation its sins, during all this time? Mr. Garrison seems to be the great objectionable!! He is an infidel, and here is the evidence. When all our D. Ds, Revs, and [C]hristians (!) were sleeping over the hell-originated and heaven-daring abominations of slavery, and even traded, many of them, in the bodies and souls of men for whom Christ died, Garrison came out and told them it was *sinful* and *wicked* in the sight of heaven, and that God would certainly punish them for their iniquity. At this they cry out *infidel!* He told them they were corrupt, inconsistent, hypocritical; but to all these charges the unanswerable reply has been, Garrison is an infidel!
>
> Topsfield, Nov. 5, 1839. J. E. P.
>
> "Is It So?" (1839), 182.

692 Chapman (1839), 203.

Solome Dodge, a signer of the 1839 petition, was the wife of the Wenham Anti-Slavery Society's president Jacob Dodge (1787–1869), grandson of enslaver Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #75332360.

Hannah Dodge was probably the daughter of Jacob Jr. and Mary (Corning) Dodge, born in 1792, a sister of Mary Dodge (1790–1852) and sister-in-law of William Dodge (1797–1850). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123.

William Dodge, a signer of the 1839 petition, was a great-grandson of Lieut. Richard Dodge (1703–1778) and husband of Mary Dodge (1790–1852), a granddaughter of Capt. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). J. T. Dodge (1894), 1:123, 259.

693 Chapman (1840), 143.

For David Standley see United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1820:212; United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1830:513; and Findagrave.com, memorial #60960976. Standley and his wife Hannah were admitted to the Wenham Congregational Church in 1826. Wenham First Congregational Church, MS (1792–1847), 171.

694 Moody (854), 127.

695 See the discussion of Wenham's Negro Lane/N----- Lane in Appendix J. See also the discussion of Hamilton's N----- Island in Appendix J, including the 1857 appearance of the island's name in Essex County Deeds 1371:297 (Michael and Lydia Story to Elam Burnham, 1857).

696 Unidentified photographer. No date. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, 1998.13.001?.

APPENDIX J:
STREET & PLACE NAMES

ꕥ ꕥ ꕥ

Ebenezer Lovering (ca.1722–1808) lived in Hamilton near current-day Asbury Grove. He had an enslaved man Mingo in his household, and the area adjacent to the Lovering farm was known as **Mingo's Corner**. Before **Arbor Street** was laid out as a town-maintained street in 1835, the road that led to Mingo's Corner (which would become Arbor Street) was known as **Mingo's Lane**.[697]

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Perkins Street ran from Main Street to the Perkins Farm. Two deeds written in 1836 refer to it as "**Negro Lane**"—but another contemporary deed for the same parcel refers to it as "Perkins Lane."[698] The origin of the name "Negro Lane" is unexplained. Perhaps it had something to do with an unrecorded enslaved member of the William Davison household, discussed on pages 93-95.[699] Or perhaps an African American family lived along this road in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, censuses of the town don't provide any information to support the latter hypothesis. Data on people of color wasn't collected for Wenham in the 1820 census … the only person of color in Wenham in the 1830 census was Wenham Neck resident Phyllis (Bryant) Freeman[700] … and no people of color appear in the 1840 census.

An ugly variant of the colloquial name remained in circulation for some time; in 1963 local historian Louis A. Dodge (1886–1968) recalled

> In the middle of the 1600s Sergeant John Perkins, who was living where Howard Perkins now lives, applied for a right of way to the

> Town to get to his property, and they laid out a street which when I was a younger, we called **N----- Lane**—now Perkins Street.[701]

Another element adds a layer of intrigue: there was a tunnel on the west side of Perkins Street that was extant as late as the 1970s, the genesis of which has not been explained. It originated from a well (which was filled in during the 1980s) that was behind the house at current-day 9 Perkins Street and went west to a point that was roughly mid-way along the boundary between 157 Main Street and 13 Perkins Street. This tunnel was on the order of 140 to 160 feet long and terminated in a second well (which has also been filled in). It was large enough that teenagers could crawl from one end to the other. In the 1970s teenagers who lived in the neighborhood claimed that the tunnel was used to hide enslaved people, but it's possible that they made up this story.[702]

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In 1965 Louis A. Dodge gave a presentation to the Wenham Historical Association. He covered a range of topics, and had this to say about harvesting cord wood during the mid-nineteenth century:

> At that time hard coal had not come into the market; therefore they used cord wood, cut by wood choppers, who were paid at the rate of from 75¢ to $1.00 a cord and boarded themselves. This was hauled home and peddled around town in small lots, half a cord or so to a load for $5.00 for soft and $6.00 for the hard [wood]. I can give you a list of something over twelve different wood lots that I remember the names of. There was Turkey Island, Wolf Island, Horse Island up here in Wenham Swamp. There was **N----- Island**, Ingin Shoe Brook, the Tyler Porter Lot, and so I could go on in Manchester, but nevertheless they all yielded wood.[703]

Although Dodge's comments make it sound as if **N----- Island** was in Wenham, it was actually in Hamilton along the brook that connects Gravelly Pond and Round Pond.[704]

697 L. A. Dodge (1968), I-4. Town of Wenham (1977), 142 (1835 town clerk's reference to Mingo's Corner). Hauck (2013), 370. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 106 conflates L. A. Dodge (1968)'s discussions of Arbor Street and Perkins Street. For Lovering see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #42584179. No contemporary reference for Mingo found during the research for this book.

698 Negro Lane: Essex County Deeds 293:200 (William Brown et al. to Moses Mildram, 1836) and 293:201 (Asa Lamson et al. to Moses Mildram, 1836), both deeds written by members of the same family. Perkins Lane: Essex County Deeds 293:202 (Moses and Elizabeth D. Mildram to David Starrett, 1836). *Maps*: L. A. Dodge (attributed), MS (no date), 1971.10.095.

699 Oral history maintains that the house at 28 Perkins Street incorporates or was built on the site of housing for enslaved people. Alboth (2024), whose family has lived on Perkins Street since 1951. The section of the house closest to the road is said to have been used for housing of enslaved people, but it should be noted that this part of the house has a cinder block foundation, and no structure appears on this site in the Beers map of 1872. The interior of the house was not inspected during the research phase of this book.

700 United States Census Bureau, Essex County, 1830:513.

701 L. A. Dodge (1968), I-4. Punctuation edited. Bold-face type and redaction added.

702 Alboth (2024), in which Alboth related the story of her brother and his friends exploring the tunnel during the 1970s.

The first well (behind 9 Perkins Street) was on the farm that appears in a Conant photograph of 1891 on Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 106. See Essex County Deeds 476:142 (Henry Perkins to Nathan Jones, 1853); 560:229 (Nathan and Nancy S. Jones to George K. Frost, 1857); 560:230 (George K. and Lucy A. Frost to Nathan Jones, mortgage, 1857); 756:160 (Nathan A. and Sarah M. Jones and William Fabens to Francis W. Merrill, 1868); 756:180 (Francis W. and Sarah J. Merrill to Lakeman Southwick, 1868); 850:174 (Lakeman and Augusta W. Southwick to Levi Ham, 1872), first parcel; 1073:181 (Levi and Sarah F. Ham to Mary E. Safford, mortgage, 1881); and 1126:245 (Mary E. Safford to Ebenezer Tinkham, 1884). Beers (1872), 95, "P. Southwick" House. Walker (1884), "Ham Estate."

703 L. A. Dodge (1968), III-9. Punctuation edited. Bold-face type and redaction added. As Dodge was giving his presentation he projected a map of town, for the benefit of his audience, to illustrate his talk. When Dodge used the phrase "up here" after Horse Island he was pointing to a section of his map.

704 Dodge's father William P. Dodge (1844–1927) owned a lot on the island. See Essex County Deeds 1364:238 (William P. and Hannah A. Dodge to William D. Sohier, 1892), "Negro Island;" and 3581:497 (Abbie Norman and Frederick H. Prince to Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1947), nineteenth parcel, in which Negro Island is identified by its even-more-objectionable name. A thorough search of deeds, probate and town records to find all references to the island has not been done. However, references include Essex County Deeds 918:194 (Ira P. Knowlton to Thomas W. Brown Jr., 1874); 1371:297 (Michael and Lydia Story to Elam Burnham, 1857); 1371:299 (Elbridge and Elizabeth M. Perkins to William D. Sohier, 1893); 1371:300 (Elam and Joanna Burnham to William D. Sohier, 1893); 1376:355 (Augustus Woodbury to William D. Sohier, 1893); 1592:5 (William A. Prince to William D. Sohier, 1899), third parcel; 1867:261 (Michael and Lydia Story to Grover Dodge, 1857); 1867:262 (John W. Goodhue to Grover Dodge, 1869); 1867:264 (Henry F. and Martha E. Dodge to William D. Sohier, 1907); and 3581:497 (Abbie Norman and Frederick H. Prince to Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1947), parcels 18-21, 23, 26, 36. For location see Essex

County Deeds Plan 1371: 297 ("(Copy of) Plan of Woodland of Michael Story, Sold December 1856," 1893); and 76:55 ("Preliminary Plan of Princemere, Property of Mrs. Abby Norman Prince," 1948).

APPENDIX K:
THE "MYSTERY STONES"

In 1969 a group of students from Gordon College discovered a site near the Hamilton-Wenham town line that had an eight-foot tall cairn, encircled by an old gravel road, that was accessed by a driveway lined by twelve smaller cairns. The students told the Gordon College dean of students about the site. A series of conversations and correspondence ensued between the dean, the editor of the Gordon College newspaper, the executive director of the Wenham Historical Association, a former owner and a former caretaker of the estate that included the site, former neighbors who had lived near the site, the Hamilton Historical Society, and other out-of-towners who had heard about it—all in an effort to learn who constructed the cairns, why and when.[705]

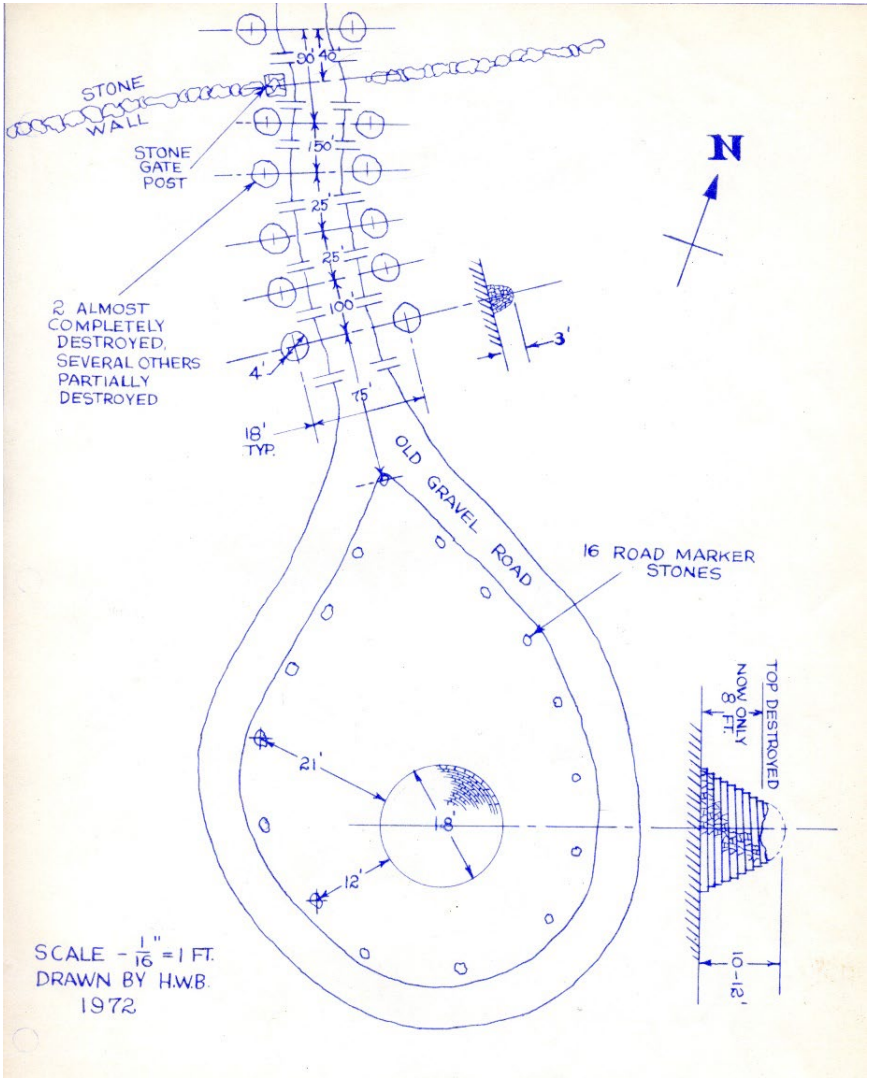
A rumor began to circulate at Gordon College that the site was one where a "witch cult" gathered.[706] Meanwhile, Marjorie A. (Parmenter) Davis (1917–2000), owner of an abutting property, was quoted at the time as remembering the cairns as "always there," and had heard a "story that they were erected by Wenham slaves."[707] William C. Faust (1934–2008), estate caretaker, echoed Davis saying that "Mr. Thompson[708] said the stones had been set in place a long time ago by slaves."[709] Irene Dodge, executive director of the Wenham Historical Association & Museum, offered "it may be that these stones mark the site of the negro burial ground which was once supposed to exist on Dodge property in the late eighteenth century."[710] Shirley N. Boothroyd (1922–2015), corresponding on behalf of the Wenham Historical Association & Museum, hinted at yet another hypothesis—that the site may have been a folly—when she wrote "perhaps when Mr. Frick [owned] the place, his Italian stonemasons may have built [it] for a carriage drive."[711]

A group of seven people, including members of the Wenham Historical Association, visited the site in 1972, drawing a plan of the site and taking a series of photographs.[712] Harold W. Boothroyd (1922–2014),[713] the man who

drew the plan, thought that the central cairn had originally been ten to twelve feet tall, the stones that had made up the top two feet having been removed or having slid down the sides of the cairn. Four years later Shirley N. Boothroyd recalled that "there was no moss on the stones and [it] really didn't look like an ancient site."[714]

Although an attempt was made to find an archaeologist to study the site,[715] there's no record that such a study was done. In the absence of scientific study, the who, why and when of the site's construction remain a mystery. At the very least, however, it is striking that the correspondence about the site refers to the possibility that enslaved people may have constructed it[716] *but without feeling the need to make the point that enslaved people had once lived in Wenham*. In other words, the body of correspondence on the Mystery Stones shows us that a certain amount of collective memory of enslavement in Wenham was in circulation in the early 1970s, having been retained by Wenham residents who lived in town prior to the acceleration of suburbanization.

Central cairn at the "Mystery Stones" site, photographed in 1972.[717]



Mystery Stones site plan, 1972.[718]

[705] Sharon S. McKern (Lawrence, KS) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), September 27, 1970, letter, x2014.277a. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Mrs. Thomas W. McKern [Sharon S. McKern] (Lawrence, KS), October 8, 1970. letter, x2014.277b. Sharon S. Sharon S. McKern (Lawrence, KS) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), October 28, 1970, letter, x2014.277c. Maureen Herold and Loren Bliss (Bellingham, WA) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), April 14, 1971, letter, x2014.277d. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Maureen Herold and Loren Bliss (Bellingham, WA), May 4, 1971, letter, x2014.277e. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Thomas F. Fitzgibbon (Salem, MA), December 10, 1971, letter, x2014.277f. Louise B. Appleton (Longmeadow, MA) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), December 27, 1971, letter, x2014.277h. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Mrs. J. H. Appleton [Louise B. Appleton] (Longmeadow, MA), December 30, 1971, letter, x2014.277g. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Mrs. J. H. Appleton [Louise B. Appleton] (Longmeadow, MA), January 17, 1972, letter, x2014.277i. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Helen Frick (New York, NY), March 27, 1972, letter, x2014.277j. Helen C. Frick (New York, NY) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), April 11, 1972, letter, x2014.277k. [Dr.] Frederick Johnson (Andover, MA) to Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA), September 28, 1972, letter, x2014.277l. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Mrs. Gordon McKey [Eleanor F. (Chace) McKey] (Hamilton, MA), March 22, 1973, letter, x2014.277m. Irene Dodge (Wenham, MA) to Dr. Frederick Johnson (Andover, MA), August 30, 1973, letter, x2014.277n. Lawrence G. Dodge (Andover, MA) to Shirley N. Boothroyd (Wenham, MA), September 9, 1976, letter, x2014.277p. Shirley N. Boothroyd (Wenham, MA) to Lawrence G. Dodge (West Newbury, MA), September 7, 1976, letter, x2014.277q. Lawrence G. Dodge (West Newbury, MA) to Mrs. Richrd D. Phippen [Susanne "Snooky" Phippen] (Wenham, MA), September 17, 1976, letter, x2014.277r. Shirley N. Boothroyd (Wenham, MA) to Lawrence G. Dodge (West Newbury, MA), September 23, 1976, letter, x2014.277s.

Sharon S. McKern's husband Thomas W. McKern was a professor of anthropology at the University of Kansas. Maureen Herold and Loren Bliss were students at Western Washington University. Thomas F. Fitzgibbon was the attorney for the property owner. Louise B. Appleton was president of the Girls Clubs, the organization that owned the property. Helen C. Frick was a former owner of the property. Dr. Frederick Johnson was referred to by Irene Dodge as a "historical archaeologist." Eleanor F. McKey was a member of the Hamilton Historical Society. Lawrence G. Dodge lived near the site earlier in life. Susanne "Snooky" (LaCroix) Phippen and her husband Richard owned part of Dodges Island, abutting the Iron Rail Property.

[706] I. Dodge to McKern, October 8, 1970, letter, x2014.277b. Marjorie Davis later (August 14, 1971) said that the story of the site "being a witch cult site was started by a boy who lived at her home for a short time and told the story to 'rib' the Gordon College boys." "File—Correspondence: Wenham's Mystery Stones" (no date).

[707] I. Dodge to Fitzgibbon, December 10, 1971, letter, x2014.277f. I. Dodge to Frick, March 27, 1972, letter, x2014.277j. S. N. Boothroyd to Dodge, September 2, 1976, letter, x2014.277q. For Marjorie Davis see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #59658255.

[708] Apparently Gordon L. Thompson (1920–2000), whose grandfather Orin had owned the Iron Rail House. Essex County Deeds 1592:507 (Orin P. Thompson et al. to Oscar A. Melville, 1899). Findagrave.com (2024), memorials #231638787, 231638836 and 231639068.

[709] I. Dodge to Appleton, January 17, 1972, letter, x2014.277i. For William C. Faust see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #131052165.

710 I. Dodge to McKern, October 8, 1970, letter, x2014.277b. Might she have been conflating a supposed "negro burial ground" with Pompey's Island?

711 S. N. Boothroyd to Dodge, September 23, 1976, letter, x2014.277s. Boothroyd wrote:

> Unfortunately the area is way back in the woods now and there is no way to get in by a car. I remember that we went through a stone wall and crossed over a brook. We know the land is in Hamilton, and I understand a building contractor has bought it.

See Essex County Deeds 6137:314 (Girls Clubs of America, Inc. to Ralph W. Drinkwater, 1975); Essex County Deeds Plan 133:57 ("Plan of Land Located in Hamilton & Wenham, Property of Iron Rail Fund of Girls Clubs of America, Inc." 1974); and 136:34 "Plan of Land in Wenham, Property of Ralph W. Drinkwater," 1975). For Shirley Boothroyd see Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #167884118. For Lawrence G. Dodge see Appendix H.

I searched for the site on November 25, 2023 but could not find it. I wonder whether it may have been demolished when Partridgeberry Lane was developed.

712 I. Dodge to Appleton, January 17, 1972, letter, x2014.277i. The seven visitors were William C. Faust, Irene Dodge, Harold and Shirley Boothroyd, their son Eric Boothroyd, Dr. Newton Hyslop and Gordon College student Michael Fitch.

713 Findagrave.com (2024), memorial #125578921.

714 S. N. Boothroyd to Dodge, September 23, 1976, letter, x2014.277s.

715 F. Johnson to Dodge, September 28, 1972, letter, x2014.277l. I. Dodge to Johnson, August 30, 1973, letter, x2014.277n.

716 I. Dodge to McKern, October 8, 1970, letter, x2014.277b. I. Dodge to Fitzgibbon (Salem, MA), December 10, 1971, letter, x2014.277f. I. Dodge to Appleton, January 17, 1972, letter, x2014.277i. I. Dodge to Frick, March 27, 1972, letter, x2014.277j. S. N. Boothroyd to Dodge, September 2, 1976, letter, x2014.277q.

717 Hyslop (1972). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2014.278c. The person standing on the cairn is unidentified.

718 H. W. Boothroyd, MS (1972). Detail. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, x2014.279a.

APPENDIX L:
1975 NEWSPAPER ARTICLE REGARDING THE POSSIBLE BURIAL GROUND OFF DODGES ROW[719]

Slaves lay buried off Dodges' Row
By Tim Johnson

WENHAM—The small clearing lies just beyond a pine grove off Dodge's Row. It is overgrown with mint and berry bushes now, and three decades ago there used to be a vegetable garden here.

But long before the gardens [*sic*], the land was used for a different purpose: it was a burial ground for slaves held by Wenham landowners.

No stones mark the spot, no fence surrounds this anonymous legacy of Wenham's history. Most townspeople do not even know there were slaves in Wenham or that some are buried here.

But assessor Donald Bell knows, because the clearing is behind his house. But even he has kept the secret of the slave graves.

One day, 30 years ago[,] he was walking past the garden when he saw a skull. It had apparently been unearthed during the garden's spring plowing, and Bell found other human bones nearby.

"It was Arthur Leach's garden," he said recently. "In those days you used to be able to walk right through here all the way over to Longdon [*sic*] Reservoir." A swamp has since evolved beyond the clearing, blocking passage to the reservoir. "Leach had just plowed the garden when I found the skull."

Bell buried it, along with the other bones, and his find has since been generally forgotten. But at the time, his discovery confirmed the belief that there was a slave burial ground on the land.

In her tercentennial history of the town, ("Notes on Wenham History: 1643–1943") Adeline Cole acknowledged that "tradition has persisted" of the existence of "a slave burial ground at Wenham Neck" behind the house of Mrs. Charles Leach (the house next to Bell's). "Skulls which have been found at this spot," wrote Cole in 1943, "would justify this tradition."[720]

During the 17th and early 18th centuries, according to Cole, "gradually, well-to-do families kept, as a matter of necessity, one to three slaves as they could get them."[721] One such family, he [*sic*[722]] continues, "owned slaves as they owned real estate. They bought them off their neighbors, they willed them to their children, and rented them for labor."

"Benches in the meeting house were reserved for the slaves," writes Cole. Not all of the slaves were black—many appear to have been indentured servants who eventually received their freedom. The 1764 [*sic*] town census records 31 slaves, six of them black.[723]

The town's "Vital Records" through 1850 include lists of births, marriages, and deaths from the 17th century on. At the end of each section is a separate entry entitled "Negro [*sic*]." The records show 16 Negro births and 41 [*sic*] deaths during the 18th century. Between 1735 and 1813, there were 28 Negro marriages in Wenham.

Slavery was outlawed in Massachusetts and most other northern states near the turn of the 18th century. But town records show that a number of freed slaves continued to live in Wenham during the 1800's. Among those was one named Pompey Black, bought by Jonathan Porter in the mid-1700's and eventually employed as a sexton, who lived to be 90 [*sic*].[724]

Bell said many years ago, he heard stories about an ex-slave named Amos who was still living in Wenham after the Civil War. He believes that Amos, and perhaps some other slaves, once lived in the area which is now his front yard.

"Slavery was illegal in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, yet they used to get around it," said Bell, who recalls visiting the Babson house[725] in Gloucester and seeing the manacles in which slaves had been held. "Some of those Yankees," he said, "would do anything to make a buck."

[Illustrated with a photograph of Donald Bell; photograph caption:]

WENHAM RESIDENT Donald Bell 30 years ago discovered a slaves' [*sic*] grave in this clearing behind his house. (Photo by Ralph Turcotte)

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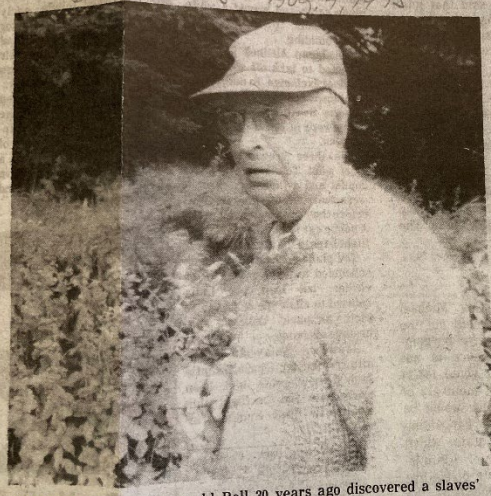
Grave Page 3

Beverly Times Aug. 7, 1975



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•Grave

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"Slaves lay buried off Dodges' Row."[726]

719 *Beverly Times*, August 7, 1975, page number lost and 3.

720 Cole (1943), 74.

721 *Ibid.*, 90.

722 Editing error; should be "she continues." See Cole (1943), 90, who was referring to the Dodge family.

723 Cole (1943), 91.

The comment that conflates slavery with indentured servitude reflects a misunderstanding on the part of Johnson. The data on the 1764 census is based on Cole (1943), 91, who misrepresented the data in the 1765 census.

724 Pompey Porter (1752–1833), whom Cole (1943) refers to as "Pompey Black" at her page 91, was born into Jonathan Porter's household and not bought by Jonathan Porter.

725 The Babson-Alling House, 13 Poplar Street, Gloucester.

726 Johnson (1975) page number lost and 3. There is a pencil inscription at the top of the lower image: "Beverly Times Aug. 7, 1775."

APPENDIX M:
2005 NEWSPAPER ARTICLE
REGARDING THE HISTORY OF ENSLAVEMENT
IN WENHAM AND HAMILTON[727]

Slaves were no strangers
Records show local landowners were part of national controversy
By Julie Nagazina
correspondent

While Hamilton and Wenham are generally assumed to have been untouched by considerations of slavery and abolition in the 1800s, there is clear evidence that residents of both towns were more than vaguely familiar with the issue. It is a fact that may seem unsettling to today's citizens as they anticipate the marking of Martin Luther King Jr. Day Monday, Jan. 17.

A volume in the archives of the Wenham Museum entitled, "Vital Records of Wenham," lists alphabetically by last name, the births, marriages and deaths of Wenham residents from 1643 to the end of 1849.

At the end, however, there is a separate heading for "Negroes." The short phrases listed there, copied from church records and family Bibles, offer hints as to what life was like for New England's first generations of African-Americans. The words "servant of" appear frequently and last names are rarely used.

Some examples include:

- On May 18, 1731, 14-year old Pompey, "a servant of Lt. William Dodge" was killed by a cart.

- Sal, " a black girl of Captain J. Dodge's, " was 16 years old when she died of consumption and was buried on October 16, 1807.
- Judith (a servant of Mrs. Jerusha Dodge of Beverly) and Hazard (a servant of John Gott) were married in Beverly on November 23, 1758.
- The birth records for Dilla and Phebe Boorgilla are unusual, in that they give the sisters (born in 1761 and 1764) a last name. The reason may be that the marriage records of their parents, describe their father, Primus, as a servant of Mrs. Mary Cue, but their mother Peggy Otum, as "a free woman of Hampton Falls."

Wenham lore

In 1754, the House of Representatives ordered that the assessors of towns in the Massachusetts Bay Province take a census of "the exact number of the Negro slaves, males and females, sixteen years old and upward," within their districts.

The census showed 468 slaves living in Essex County, including 16 in Wenham. The total population of that town, in 1765, was 564.

Some may find it surprising, maybe even shocking, to associate Wenham with slavery. Apparently, Wenham's colonial residents felt the same way. Adeline Cole's "Notes on Wenham History," (1943) states that "though Wenham citizens owned slaves, their sentiments were entirely anti-slavery."

According to the Wenham Museum's Tracey de Jong, work the slaves did was similar to that done by other servants and farmhands. (Much of the information in this article came from DeJong [*sic*], who was the curator for the 2003 exhibit, "Souls on Fire! The Abolitionists.")

The evidence in "Vital Records" indicates that Wenham's African-American residents were afforded the dignity of baptism and marriage. However, just as Wenham's slaves were denied the dignity of last names, they were also denied clearly marked final resting places.

Our colonial ancestors may have shared their homes with these men and women, but they did not share their cemeteries with them. Ironically, it was this final neglect that kept alive some memory of Wenham's slave history when all other evidence had faded from

local consciousness. Unmarked graves have a way of turning up and legends of buried bodies are powerfully persistent.

Ninety-year-old A. Winslow "Albie" Dodge, of Wenham, recalls hearing about bones that were uncovered when Frederick Henry Prince was building a polo field sometime during the early 20th century. Prince's estate is now the site of Gordon College, on Grapevine Road.

Local people told Prince the remains of two slaves had been unearthed, and Prince had them reburied somewhere on the grounds of the Iron Rail property, about a mile down Grapevine Road.

Hamilton's John Pews, burial agent for the town of Wenham, also knows several stories of slave burial sites, but he notes that they are mostly "hearsay and conjecture."

Years ago, Pews heard rumors of unmarked graves containing the bones of slaves, or possibly native Americans, located on Dodges Row and Cedar Street.

There were also stories of graves outside the fence surrounding the old part of Wenham Cemetery—graves where slaves, native Americans and the indigent were said to have been buried.[728]

When Dorothy Maciejowski, a member of Wenham's Cemetery Commission, was growing up, she was told there were seven slaves buried behind the Wenham Baptist Church at [*sic*] the corner of Dodges and Larch Row. That church building has since been converted into a private residence.

(The Wenham Baptist Church was not built until the first half of the 19th century, decades after slavery was outlawed in Massachusetts in 1783.)

Maciejowski added, "As far as I know, no one went and searched for them. No bones were moved. No graves were marked."

Interestingly, it appears the Wenham Baptist Church became the center of abolitionist sentiment in Wenham. Church records show that on Dec. 15, 1836, the congregation voted "To observe the Sunday evening of every month as a season of prayer for the abolition of slavery."

The third minister of the Wenham Baptist Church (from 1838 to 1840) was the Rev. Joel Kenney. He was also, concurrently, vice president of the Essex County Abolitionist Society.

Cutler's contributions

Because Hamilton was still a part of Ipswich during the time when slavery was legal, it is difficult to determine that town's citizens' role in this chapter of New England history.

The 1754 census shows 62 slaves over the age of 16 living in the entire town of Ipswich. A [w]eb site devoted to the genealogy of the Whipple family described how one Matthew Whipple, of Ipswich, freed a slave named Pluto, who was living in Hamilton at the time of his death, at age 107.

The first recorded land grant in what would become Hamilton was given to a Matthew Whipple, raising the possibility that Hamilton's first landowner may have also been a slave owner.[729]

In Hamilton, as in Wenham[730], members of the clergy led the fight against slavery. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the pastor of Hamilton's First Congregational Church, negotiated on behalf of the U.S. Congress for the purchase of land in the Northwest Territory in Ohio. He made sure the Ordinance of 1787, which governed that territory, included a clause banning slavery.

When DeJong [*sic*] was doing research for the "Souls on Fire!" exhibit at the Wenham Museum, she learned of safe houses for runaway slaves in Essex County. However, as far as is known, no stations of the so-called "underground railroad" were located in Hamilton or Wenham.

[Illustrated with a June 2, 1891 photograph of the Baptist Church by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921), Wenham Museum, BHC182; photograph caption:]

Congregants at the Wenham Baptist Church, at [*sic*] the corner of Dodge's [*sic*] and Larch [R]ows, were at the forefront of the abolitionist movement in Essex County. Photo courtesy Wenham Museum.

[Callout:]

Wenham's African-American residents were afforded the dignity of baptism and marriage. However, just as Wenham's slaves were denied the dignity of last names, they were also denied clearly marked final resting places.

1/31 Boston Herald 11/13/05

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By Julie Nagazina
correspondent

While Hamilton and Wenham are generally assumed to have been untouched by considerations of slavery and abolition in the 1800s, there is clear evidence that residents of both towns were more than vaguely familiar with the issue. It is a fact that may seem unsettling to today's citizens as they anticipate the marking of Martin Luther King Jr. Day Monday, Jan. 17.

A volume in the archives of the Wenham Museum entitled, "Vital Records of Wenham," lists alphabetically by last name, the births, marriages and deaths of Wenham residents from 1643 to the end of 1849.

At the end, however, there is a separate heading for "Negroes." The short phrases listed there, copied from church records and family Bibles, offer hints as to what life was like for New England's first generations of African-Americans. The words "servant of" appear frequently and last names are rarely used.

Some examples include:

• On May 18, 1731, 14-year old Pompey, "a servant of Lt. William Dodge" was killed by a cart.

• Sal, "a black girl of Captain J. Dodge's," was 16 years old when she died of consumption and was buried on October 16, 1807.

• Judith (a servant of Mrs. Jerusha Dodge of Beverly) and Hazard (a servant of John Gott) were married in Beverly on November 23, 1758.

• The birth records for Dilla and Phebe Boorgilla are unusual, in that they give the sisters (born in 1761 and 1764) a last name. The reason may be that the marriage records of their parents, describe their father, Primus, as a servant of Mrs. Mary Cue, but their mother, Peggy Otum, as "a free woman of Hampton Falls."

➤ SEE **SLAVERY,** PAGE 10

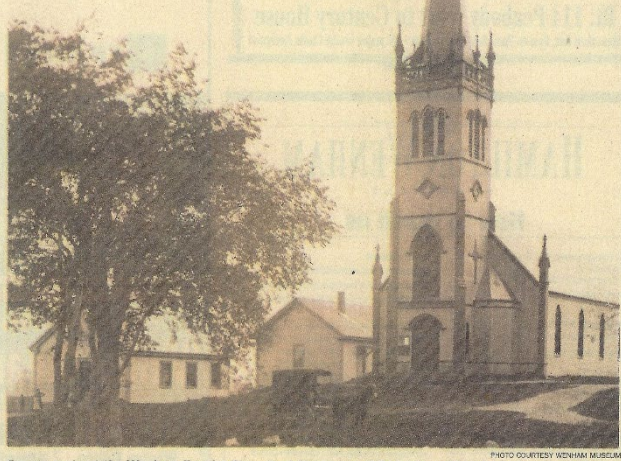

PHOTO COURTESY WENHAM MUSEUM

Congregants at the Wenham Baptist Church, at the corner of Dodge's and Larch rows, were at the forefront of the abolitionist movement in Essex County.

"Slaves were no strangers."[731]

➤ **SLAVERY,** FROM PAGE 1

Wenham lore

In 1754, the House of Representatives ordered that the assessors of towns in the Massachusetts Bay Province take a census of "the exact number of the Negro slaves, males and females, sixteen years old and upward," within their districts.

This census showed 468 slaves living in Essex County, including 16 in Wenham. The total population of that town, in 1765, was 564.

Some may find it surprising, maybe even shocking, to associate Wenham with slavery. Apparently, Wenham's colonial residents felt the same way. Adeline Cole's "Notes on Wenham History," (1943) states that "though Wenham citizens owned slaves, their sentiments were entirely anti-slavery."

According to the Wenham Museum's Tracey de Jong, work the slaves did was similar to that done by other servants and farmhands. (Much of the information in this article came from DeJong, who was the curator for the 2003 exhibit, "Souls on Fire! The Abolitionists.")

The evidence in "Vital Records" indicates that Wenham's African-American residents were afforded the dignity of baptism and marriage. However, just as Wenham's slaves were denied the dignity of last names, they were also denied clearly marked final resting places.

Our colonial ancestors may have shared their homes with these men and women, but they did not share their cemeteries with them. Ironically, it was this final neglect that kept alive some memory of Wenham's slave history when all other evidence had faded from local consciousness. Unmarked graves have a way of turning up and legends of buried bodies are powerfully persistent.

Wenham's African-American residents were afforded the dignity of baptism and marriage. However, just as Wenham's slaves were denied the dignity of last names, they were also denied clearly marked final resting places.

Ninety-year-old A. Winslow "Albie" Dodge, of Wenham, recalls hearing about bones that were uncovered when Frederick Henry Prince was building a polo field sometime during the early 20th century. Prince's estate is now the site of Gordon College, on Grapevine Road.

Local people told Prince the remains of two slaves had been unearthed, and Prince had them reburied somewhere on the grounds of the Iron Rail property, about a mile down Grapevine Road.

Hamilton's John Pews, burial agent for the town of Wenham, also knows several stories of slave burial sites, but he notes that they are mostly "hearsay and conjecture."

Years ago, Pews heard rumors of unmarked graves containing the bones of slaves, or possibly native Americans, located on Dodges Row and Cedar Street.

There were also stories of graves outside the fence surrounding the old part of Wenham Cemetery — graves where slaves, native Americans and the indigent were said to have been buried.

When Dorothy Maciejowski, a member of Wenham's Cemetery Commission, was growing up, she was told there were seven slaves buried behind the Wenham Baptist Church at the corner of Dodges and Larch Row. That church building has since been converted into a private residence.

(The Wenham Baptist Church was not built until the first half of the 19th century, decades after slavery was outlawed in Massachusetts in 1783.)

Maciejowski added, "As far as I know, no one went and searched for them. No bones were moved. No graves were marked."

Interestingly, it appears the Wenham Baptist Church became the center of abolitionist sentiment in Wenham. Church records show that on Dec. 15, 1836, the congregation voted "To observe the Sunday evening of every month as a season of prayer for the abolition of slavery."

The third minister of the Wenham Baptist Church (from 1838 to 1840) was the Rev. Joel Kenney. He was also, concurrently, vice president of the Essex County Abolition Society.

Cutler's contributions

Because Hamilton was still a part of Ipswich during the time when slavery was legal, it is difficult to determine that town's citizens' role in this chapter of New England history.

The 1754 census shows 62 slaves over the age of 16 living in the entire town of Ipswich. A Web site devoted to the genealogy of the Whipple family described how one Matthew Whipple, of Ipswich, freed a slave named Pluto, who was living in Hamilton at the time of his death, at age 107.

The first recorded land grant in what would become Hamilton was given to a Matthew Whipple, raising the possibility that Hamilton's first landowner may have also been a slave owner.

In Hamilton, as in Wenham, members of the clergy led the fight against slavery. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the pastor of Hamilton's First Congregational Church, negotiated on behalf of the U.S. Congress for the purchase of land in the Northwest Territory in Ohio. He made sure the Ordinance of 1787, which governed that territory, included a clause banning slavery.

When DeJong was doing research for the "Souls on Fire!" exhibit at the Wenham Museum, she learned of safe houses for runaway slaves in Essex County. However, as far as is known, no stations of the so-called "underground railroad" were located in Hamilton or Wenham.

"Slaves were no strangers," continued.[732]

727 *Hamilton-Wenham Chronicle*, January 13, 2005, 1, 10.

728 The idea that the town had a policy of burying either enslaved, Indigenous or indigent individuals outside the cemetery's fence is about as easy to swallow as a ball of tin foil. First of all, many enslaved people and probably all indigent people of European descent had been baptized. Second of all, the cemetery has always been surrounded by privately-owned land. In the 1630s the land to the north of the cemetery was granted to Rev. John Fiske (ca.1601–1677) and the land to the south and east was granted to Phineas Fiske (ca.1600–1673). By the 1700s, once enslavement had been introduced to Wenham:

- John Edwards Jr. (1668–1719) owned the abutting property to the north. Essex County Deeds 15:298 (Ezekiel Woodward and Elizabeth (Solart) Woodward, executrix, to John Edwards et al., 1687/8); and 51:57 (John Edwards [3rd] et al. to John Kimball, 1726).
- Isaac Hull (d. 1708)—and later Lieut. John Porter (1658–1753) and John Dodge (1717–1779)—owned the abutting property to the south and east. Essex County Deeds 14:281 (Isaac and Sarah Hull to George Hull, 1700); 45:199 (George Hull to Sarah Hull, 1721), first parcel; and 79:143 (Peter Hull, administrator, to John Dodge, 1740). Essex County Probate 7879 (John Dodge, 1779), :16 Division (1780), second moiety to son Lieut./Dea. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825), including "Hull's lot" of "about eight acres."

It should be noted that John Dodge (1717–1779) was an enslaver. One wonders if perhaps he buried a deceased enslaved person(s) on his farm, and (if so) this was conflated with a town policy of burying low-status individuals outside the cemetery's fence.

729 Nagazina appears to be conflating two members of the Whipple family who shared the name Matthew.

730 I have found no evidence that Wenham's eighteenth century clergy advocated for the abolition of slavery.

731 Nagazina (2005), 1. There is a pencil inscription at the top of the image: "1.51 Ham-Wen. Chronicle 11/13/05," the "1.51" being a catalogue number of the Wenham Congregational Church archives.

732 *Ibid.*, 10.

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